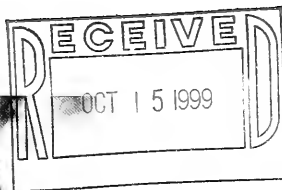


1750-1
F
756
A67

ANNALS of WYOMING

Volume 60, No. 1 Spring, 1988



THE WYOMING STATE ARCHIVES, MUSEUMS AND HISTORICAL DEPARTMENT

The function of the Wyoming State Archives, Museums and Historical Department is to collect and preserve materials which tell the story of Wyoming. It maintains the state's historical library and research center, the Wyoming State Museum and branch museums, the State Art Gallery and the State Archives. The Department solicits original records such as diaries, letters, books, early newspapers, maps, photographs and art and records of early businesses and organizations as well as artifacts for museum display. The Department asks for the assistance of all Wyoming citizens to secure these documents and artifacts. Department facilities are designed to preserve these materials from loss and deterioration. The State Historic Preservation Office is also located in the Department.

WYOMING STATE LIBRARY, ARCHIVES, MUSEUMS AND HISTORICAL BOARD

Frank Bowron, Casper, Chairman
Lucille Clarke Dumbrell, Newcastle
George Zebre, Kemmerer
Tom Mangan, Laramie
Bill Bruce Hines, Gillette
Gladys Hill, Douglas
Gretel Ehrlich, Shell
George Zeimans, Lingle
Mary Guthrie, Attorney General's Office, Ex-officio

EDITORIAL ADVISORY BOARD

Dona Bachman
James Donahue
Mark Junge
Linda Rollins
Mary Nielsen, Ex-officio
President, Wyoming State Historical Society
Frank Bowron, Ex-officio
Chairman, State Library, Archives, Museums and Historical Board

ABOUT THE COVER—J. E. Stimson photographed one of the last trains to cross the Dale Creek Bridge in 1901, the same year the Union Pacific Railroad rerouted the line and dismantled the bridge. In 1986, Dale Creek Crossing was placed on the National Register of Historic Places. Today few vestiges of the bridge remain, as can be seen in Michael A. Amundson's 1987 rephotograph of the site on the back cover.

ANNALS of WYOMING

Volume 60, No. 1
Spring, 1988

GOVERNOR OF WYOMING

Mike Sullivan

DIRECTOR

David Kathka

EDITOR

Rick Ewig

ASSISTANT EDITORS

Jean Brainerd

Roger Joyce

Ann Nelson

EDITORIAL ASSISTANTS

Kathy Martinez

Judy West

PHOTOGRAPHIC

ASSISTANTS

Paula West-Chavoya

Carroll Jones

Ed Fowler

TABLE OF CONTENTS

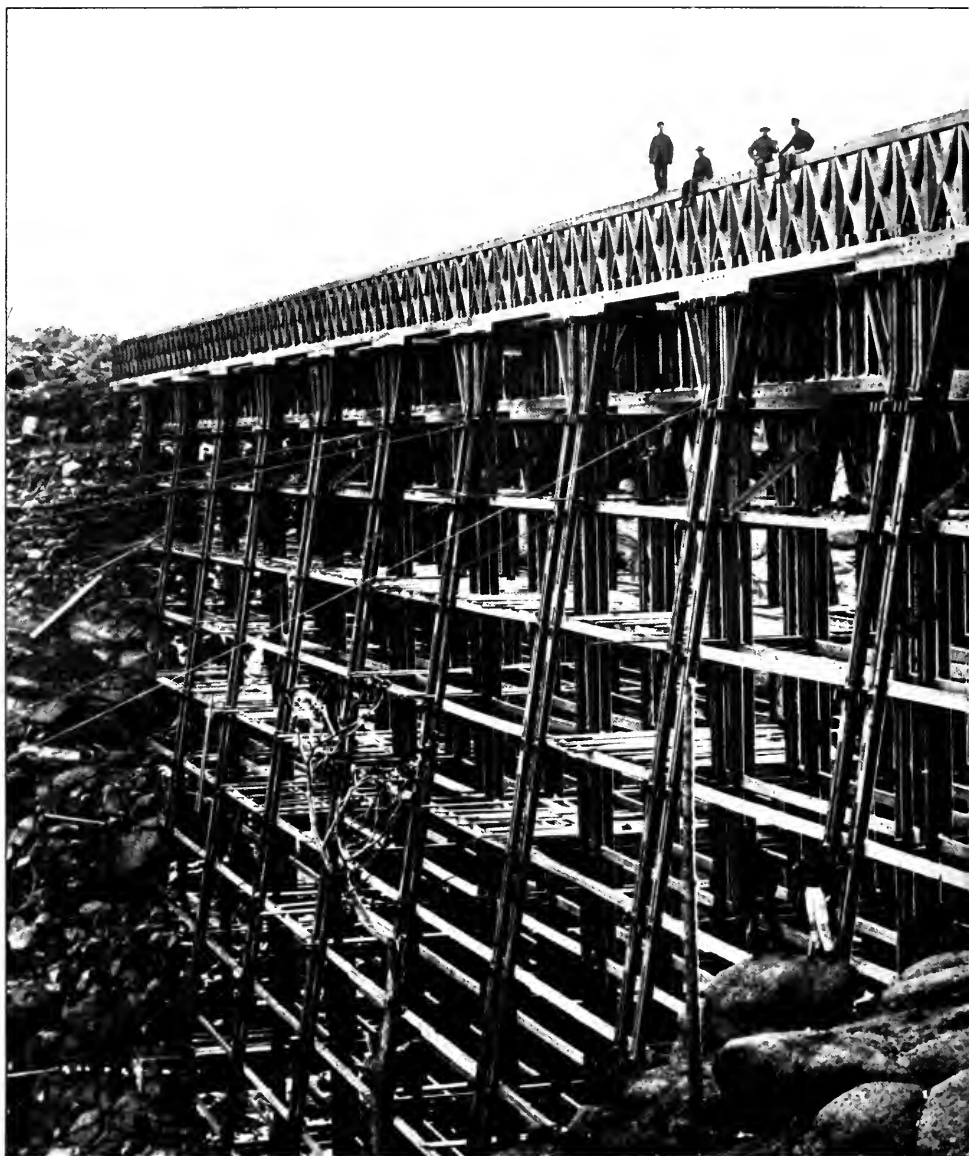
DALE CREEK CROSSING	2
by Mark L. Gardner	
MORE THAN ONE COAL ROAD TO ZION: The Utah Territory's Efforts to Ease Dependency on Wyoming Coal	8
by M. Guy Bishop	
HANDMADE TRUNKS	17
by Mariann McCormick	
THE CHANGING FACE OF COWBOY STATE AGRICULTURE: Turn of the Century Wyoming Agriculturalist—A Demographic Profile	22
by Vicki Page and William L. Hewitt	
THROUGH THE LENS OF J. E. STIMSON: Past and Present	32
by Michael A. Amundson	
INSIDE WYOMING	46
ANNALS' REVIEWS	50
BOOK NOTES	53
INDEX	55



ANNALS OF WYOMING is published biannually in the Spring and Fall by the Wyoming State Press. It is received by all members of the Wyoming State Historical Society as the official publication of that organization. Copies of previous and current issues may be purchased from the Editor. Correspondence should be addressed to the Editor. Published articles represent the views of the author and are not necessarily those of the Wyoming State Archives, Museums and Historical Department or the Wyoming State Historical Society. ANNALS OF WYOMING articles are abstracted in Historical Abstracts. America: History and Life.

© Copyright 1988 by the Wyoming State Press

COURTESY AMERICAN HERITAGE CENTER, UNIVERSITY OF WYOMING



DALE CREEK CROSSING



by Mark L. Gardner

July, 1865, saw an unusual amount of activity on the west bank of the Missouri River at Omaha. Steamboats were arriving daily with cargos of rails, ties and locomotives. Ground had finally been broken in 1863 for a new railroad company, the Union Pacific, and it was now preparing to race westward across the continent. The Union Pacific's first rail was laid on July 10, 1865, and just four years later it would meet the Central Pacific at Promontory Point, Utah, 1,085 miles from Omaha, to complete what has become known as the First Transcontinental Railroad.

The Transcontinental Railroad, of course, is a well-covered chapter in American history. Not so well-covered, though, are the singular achievements of that railroad's march across the West. The story of the Union Pacific's Dale Creek Crossing is a prime example.

U.P. railroad crews found little challenge as they moved across the plains west of Omaha. On reaching Wyoming's Black Hills (Laramie Mountains), however, they encountered "the first real problem of importance."¹ Grenville M. Dodge, chief engineer for the Union Pacific, wrote that "the secondary range of mountains known as the Black Hills [was] the most difficult to overcome, with proper grades of all ranges on account of its short slopes and great height."²

The summit of the Black Hills was reached with some difficulty by Sherman Pass. With an elevation of 8,236 feet, it was the highest point reached by any railroad in the United States.³ However, the "most serious obstacle to the building of the Union Pacific" still awaited workmen a few miles to the west at the gorge of a small creek that drained the southern portion of the Sherman tableland.⁴ Dale Creek, an insignificant stream, flowed at the gorge's bottom.⁵

The gorge was a true test of the bridge-building technology of the time. Interestingly, most of the timber for the construction of the bridge came from the East. Michigan White or Norway Pine was felled and cut to precise lengths before being shipped via Chicago by rail.⁶ Upon arrival at the site the timbers were quickly erected on piers of granite masonry. The impressive structure, completed on April 23, 1868, allegedly took only 30 days to build at a cost of \$200,000.⁷

The best description of this bridge comes from an early Laramie newspaper: "The wooden structure is 720 feet in length, of which 480 feet is Howe truss of [13] forty-foot spans, supported by common trestle well braced. Besides the Howe truss, there is 240 feet of stringers on bents at [the] west end."⁸ The Howe truss, which was the standard for railroad bridges of the time, consisted of vertical members of iron or steel with all other members, chords and diagonals, of wood.⁹

Less than a year after the bridge's completion, though, the structure came under attack. C. H. Snow, appointed government director of the Union Pacific in January, 1869, issued a report on the quality of the line's construction in

March of that same year. A portion of his report to President Grant follows:

The Hon. Jesse P. Williams of Indiana, to the Secretary of the Interior . . . stated that Dale Creek [bridge] . . . was exposed to decay, and especially to fire. The remedy applied has been to lay a floor upon the bridge, and paint it with fireproof paint. Mr. Williams suggested that "when the bridge shall decay, permanence should be given, either by filling the gorge with earth or rock, or by an iron bridge resting on stone piers."

It strikes me that waiting for the bridge to decay would be rather hazardous. Its decay might, and perhaps will, be discovered by its giving way under a train. But it is so fixed now that the unsuspecting passengers will not see their danger, nor know that the yawning chasm, granite bottomed, into which they are plunging is *one hundred and twenty feet deep*¹⁰

Nevertheless, the wooden bridge remained for several more years and became a well-known tourist attraction to the "unsuspecting passengers" of the Union Pacific. Scenic guides to the Transcontinental Railroad were soon published after the road's completion and none failed to point out the Dale Creek Crossing.

Croft's Trans-Continental Tourist, 1874, contains a large

engraving of the famed trestle. Pictured in the foreground, at the gorge's bottom, is a hunter with dog and gun and a fisherman in the process of making a large catch. In the text of the guide we learn that:

the bridge as it stands on trestles, interlaced with each other, and securely corded together, presents a light, airy and graceful appearance when viewed from the creek below. From the bridge, the beautiful little stream looks like a silver thread below us, the sun glistening its surface with a thousand flashes of silvery light.¹¹

T. Nelson and Sons' guidebook to the Union Pacific, also published in the early 1870s, contains a color lithograph showing three mounted Indians watching a passenger train cross the Dale Creek Bridge. This guide assures us that the bridge "looks unpleasantly frail at a distance, but is stout enough to support the weight of the heaviest train."¹²

The bridge may have been stout but, as Snow pointed out, it was very susceptible to fire. Consequently, plans were made to replace the wooden structure with an iron one. Fortunately, the historic wooden bridge was captured



The Union Pacific Railroad constructed the first Dale Creek Bridge entirely of wood transported from Chicago. It took only 30 days to complete.



COURTESY ARCHIVES, MUSEUMS & HISTORICAL DEPT. (AMH DEPT.)

In 1885 the Union Pacific added stronger girder spans to make the bridge safer.

on photographic plates by at least two famous western photographers, Andrew Russell and William Henry Jackson, before it was dismantled in 1876.

The *Laramie Daily Sentinel* of November 20, 1875, proudly reported that:

the new iron bridge that is to be built over Dale creek by the Union Pacific Railroad Company promises to be the finest of the kind west of Chicago . . . [It] will be 200 feet shorter at west end—this space to be filled with earth and masonry.

The supports of iron trusses are to be iron bents, made of angle iron, with four vertical posts resting on blocks of stone which are sunk or laid on the original masonry. There will be thirteen forty-foot spans.¹³

This bridge, which was manufactured by the American Bridge Company of Chicago, Illinois, was constructed under the supervision of civil engineer J. A. Evans, son of Col. James A. Evans, the pioneer engineer and superintendent of construction on the Union Pacific.¹⁴ Completed in 1876, the new bridge was much cheaper than the original, reportedly costing only \$39,450.¹⁵

The iron bridge, which acquired the nickname "spider web" for obvious reasons, was no less of an attraction than the wooden one it replaced. *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* reported its effect upon passengers in 1877:

Dale Creek Bridge comes into sight. There is a rush to the platform to enjoy the sensation of crossing on a spider's web. Seen from a distance, this marvel of iron trestle work spanning the deep, rocky bed of the stream has the airiest and most gossamer-like effect; but it is a substantial structure over which our long

train goes roaring in safety, though not without a few shrieks from those on the platforms who are averse to seeing a hundred and thirty feet of empty space yawning below them.¹⁶

Curiously, the threat of fire that was associated with the 1868 structure was not entirely avoided by the newer bridge. It seems that when the spider web was erected, the wooden trestle-work at each approach to the bridge was left intact. On November 28, 1884, the western approach caught fire, destroying that end as well as a good many of the stringers on the iron section. The fire, assumed to have been started by sparks from a passing engine, proved to be only a slight inconvenience. The Union Pacific simply transferred passengers at the bridge until the damage was repaired.¹⁷

Just a year later, the bridge underwent another change when it was condemned by the Union Pacific Engineering Department and a Mr. Pope of the Detroit Bridge Company. Heavier cars and locomotives were traveling the line and stronger girder spans were needed to make the bridge safer. These were installed in 1885.¹⁸ From period photographs it appears that large masonry abutments were added to each approach about this time as well.

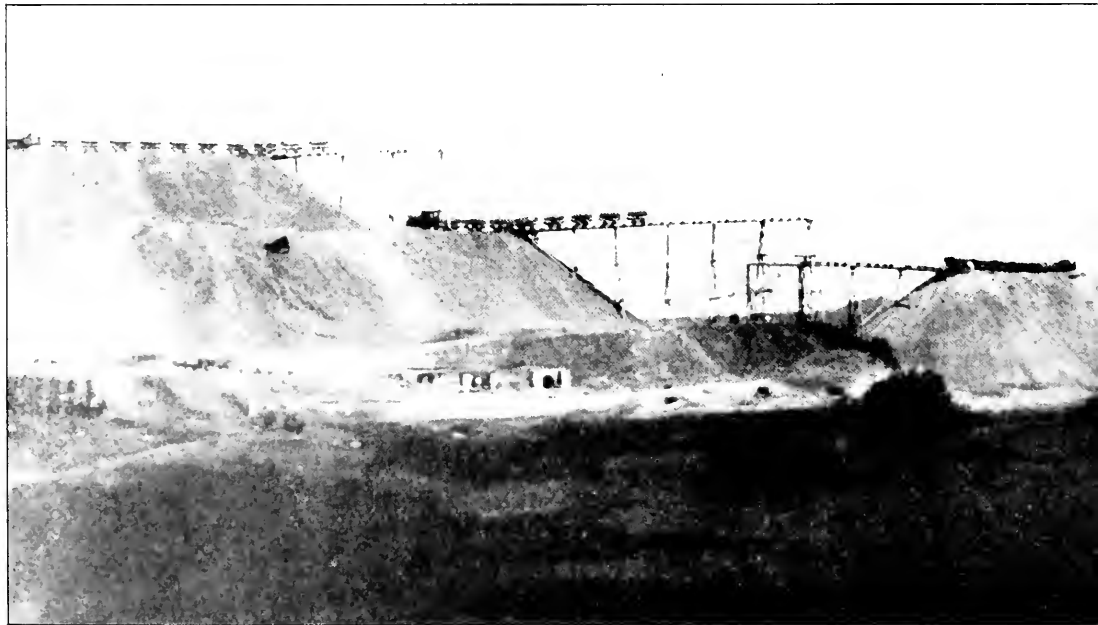
Even with the added strength, however, the bridge never became quite as sturdy as the engineers would have liked. A sign at each end of the bridge instructing locomotives to slow their rate of speed to four miles per hour while crossing reflected the engineers' concerns. In March, 1901, the *Laramie Daily Boomerang* reported that "during the late



AMERICAN HERITAGE CENTER

Trains had to slow to 4 miles per hour in order to cross the Dale Creek Bridge.

The Union Pacific built this unusual structure to complete the earth fill a mile southeast of the Dale Creek Bridge in 1901. Cars loaded with ballast were pushed out on the track and dumped to build up the fill. This section of the track is still in use today.



storm a train crossed the bridge when the structure was swayed back and forth by the violence of the blizzard until crew and passengers were so frightened that their hair ought to have turned white if it didn't."¹⁹

Engineers did not have to worry much longer. In 1901, the Union Pacific rerouted the line, abandoning the bridge for a 900-foot long, 130-foot high earth fill of Dale Creek a little more than a mile to the southeast of the old crossing.²⁰ The spider web was dismantled that same year and the iron beams incorporated into other sections of the line.²¹

Today, all that remains of the once famous crossing are the 1868 granite masonry piers and the circa 1885 abutments. Its significance to American history, however, will outlast any physical remains. Dale Creek Bridge symbolized to many Americans a bond between Westward Expansion and American ingenuity. The amazing structure defied and overcame the "wilderness" that Americans always seemed to be at odds with in the 19th century. Photographers were quick to recognize the bridge's appeal and soon the likes of Andrew Russell, William Henry Jackson, J. E. Stimson and C. B. Savage were sending views of the structure all over the country. With the passing of the frontier, though, the bridge slowly lost its significance and it was dismantled without regret. In fact, it was labeled the "Bugaboo of Sherman Hill" in 1901, and railroad officials looked forward to its abandonment.²²

In later years the crossing has taken on a new meaning for local residents. Annual ranch tours take groups out to see the crossing and old timers delight in telling bridge tales. A favorite is the story of the 1885 fire. Only now it

has been associated with the first structure and, according to the guides, it was set by Indians. The crossing, in a sense, has become a legend. In stark contrast to the bridge, which was a symbol of American ingenuity, the simple stone piers and abutments now symbolize a long past frontier of Indians, cowboys and adventurers.

The most recent chapter in the history of Dale Creek Crossing occurred on May 9, 1986, when the crossing was placed on the National Register of Historic Places. Although it may seem a bit unusual to place the site of a dismantled bridge on the National Register, it should be remembered that very little remains of the old Union Pacific line. The tracks and ties, of course, are gone. The wild railroad camps of Sherman and Dale City (just half a mile to the north of the crossing) are also gone. Even the Sherman cemetery is empty. Consequently, the stonework at Dale Creek offers something physical of another era. Through the unspoiled gorge, its masonry piers and abutments, we are able to hold on to and admire a young, still growing America that was lost long ago.

MARK L. GARDNER received a Bachelor's degree in History and Journalism from Northwest Missouri State University and a Master's degree in American Studies from the University of Wyoming. Currently he is Site Administrator for the Colorado Historical Society at the Baca House, Bloom House and Pioneer Museum in Trinidad.



UNION PACIFIC RAILROAD MUSEUM

1. John Debo Galloway, C. E., *The First Transcontinental Railroad* (New York: Simmons-Boardman, Inc., 1950), p. 237.
2. As quoted in Lynne Rhodes Mayer and Kenneth E. Vose, *Makin' Tracks* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1975), p. 65.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 64.
4. J. R. Perkins, *Trails, Rails and War: The Life of General G. M. Dodge* (New York: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1929), p. 212.
5. Galloway, p. 278.
6. Bridge—Dale Creek, B 764-dc Vertical Manuscript File, American Heritage Center, University of Wyoming, Laramie.
7. *Ibid.*, and Phil Roberts, "Building of Dale Creek Bridge was challenging," *Snake River Press*, Baggs, Wyoming, undated clipping.
8. "The Mountain Division," *Laramie Daily Sentinel*, November 20, 1875, p. 3, c. 3.
9. Galloway, pp. 23-24.
10. Mayer and Vose, pp. 147-148.
11. George A. Crofutt, *Crofutt's Trans-Continental Tourist* (New York: George A. Crofutt, 1874), p. 62.
12. T. Nelson and Sons, *The Union Pacific Railroad: A Trip Across The North American Continent From Omaha to Ogden* (New York: T. Nelson and Sons, circa early 1870s), p. 29.
13. "The Mountain Division," p. 3, c. 3.
14. *Ibid.*
15. Bridge—Dale Creek.
16. Richard Reinhardt, *Out West on the Overland Train* (Palo Alto, California: The American West Publishing Company, 1967), p. 76.
17. "Fire!" *Laramie Weekly Sentinel*, November 29, 1884, p. 3, c. 1.
18. Bridge—Dale Creek.
19. "Bugaboo of Sherman Hill," *Laramie Daily Boomerang*, March 30, 1901, p. 3, c. 3.
20. Roberts, "Building of Dale Creek Bridge."
21. Bridge—Dale Creek.
22. "Bugaboo of Sherman Hill," p. 3, c. 3.

MORE THAN ONE COAL ROAD TO ZION:

The Utah Territory's Efforts to Ease Dependency on Wyoming Coal

by M. Guy Bishop

In 1880, as the mighty Union Pacific Railroad was locked in a struggle with the Utah Eastern, a small, local line being constructed to ship coal to market in Salt Lake City, a concerned voice noted that certainly there was "room for more than one coal road to the heart of Zion."¹ While this opinion was applauded by the inhabitants of the two Utah communities which felt hardest pressed by the Union Pacific's monopoly of the fuel supply of the region, the eastern capitalists who operated the company certainly felt that their actions were justified. This paper will assess, first of all, the position of the Union Pacific in the western coal market during the post-Civil War years, and secondly, the stance of Utahns, especially in the capital of Salt Lake City and the small mining community of Coalville, in opposition to the corporate goals of the easterners. In a similar form, this conflict flared at many different times and places in late 19th century American communities.

Coalville, a small town in Summit County located about 50 miles north of Salt Lake City, was settled as a consequence of the 1859 discovery of coal near the site. The community existed primarily as a mining center during much of the late 19th century. The residents depended

upon the success of the local mines for their livelihood. The second area which was affected immediately by the coal issue was the territorial capital of Salt Lake City. As the nucleus of the Mormon "Zion" and the economic center of the Utah Territory, Salt Lake City, with a population of some 30,000, was home to the majority of Utah residents and the headquarters of local manufacturing. As such, an adequate and cheap supply of fuel was of extreme importance to the city and its people.²

By the early 1870s, the inhabitants of the Mormon commonwealth would gradually become convinced that a conspiracy to rob them of their freedoms, both religious and economic, was afoot. Not only were their "Gentile" (non-Mormon) enemies, backed by the power of the federal government, waging war against the Saints' sacred practice of plural marriages (commonly known as polygamy), but eastern-controlled economic interests in the form of the Union Pacific Railroad Company appeared to the local residents to have targeted Utah for domination or destruction. In the midst of this tension, spurred by Mormon insistence on religious freedom and home rule in opposition to non-Mormon charges of less-than-democratic government in the Utah Territory and licentious behavior by Mormon

polygamists, local businessmen and residents called time and again for the construction of a Utah-owned and operated railroad to challenge the Union Pacific's monopoly of the territorial coal trade.

This crusade to build a Utah road to ship coal to local markets won the support not only of officials of the Mormon church, but of Gentile merchants. If Mormons and non-Mormons could find little else to agree on, this was one issue which commanded near universal concern. The reason for this concurrence was obvious: coal was the life blood of the Utah Territory. Thus, an inexpensive and dependable supply of fuel for heating homes and for commercial use was an overriding interest for all Utahns. But just because Gentiles and Mormons could both recognize the public need for a local coal road did not mean that they could easily unite their efforts to build one.

The completion of the transcontinental railroad in 1869 had raised the hope that fuel problems which had plagued Salt Lake City and the Utah Territory since the time of the Mormons arrival in the late 1840s might now be alleviated.³ The line of the Union Pacific, on its way from Wyoming to Ogden, Utah, passed just five miles north of the recently-opened Summit County mines. The Mormons originally viewed the coming of the Union Pacific as Providence's answer to their fuel needs. Church President Brigham Young calculated that his people could easily construct a spur line from their mines to connect with the transcontinental railroad and then Mormon coal could be transshipped on the Union Pacific to Ogden and on to Salt Lake City. Young soon instituted plans to build the 36 mile long Utah Central Railroad which would freight the coal from Ogden to the capital. However, as with many well laid plans, this scheme did not materialize exactly as the Utahns envisioned it.

The Union Pacific had acquired some extensive coal deposits of its own in Wyoming and was enjoying nice profits from the sale of company coal. They hoped to enter the Utah market and were therefore reluctant to aid the growth of the Coalville mines to the detriment of their own product. While the Union Pacific could not force the people of Utah to buy Wyoming coal, they could at least dictate the amount of local coal to be shipped on their railroad. Because of their attempts to control the Utah trade, either through the sale of their own coal or by limiting the shipment of Utah coal, the Union Pacific soon came to be viewed as a merciless tyrant by the people of the Utah Territory.⁴

Even following the completion of local railroads, often built expressly for the purpose of shipping coal, the Utahns found themselves to be the unwilling benefactors of the Union Pacific and its coal mines in Wyoming. Consequently, by the mid-1870s, the battle lines were being drawn as local interests matched up against the mighty eastern railroad over the coal issue. As it had on a recurring basis during the post-Civil War United States, the question of corporate needs to achieve a profit versus com-

munity desires for economic security and material comfort now confronted Utahns. Their response to this dilemma provides an interesting microcosm to this Gilded Age issue. This study will focus first of all on the Union Pacific's position in the 1870s, and then upon the results for, and response from, the two Utah communities which were most affected by the railroad's attempt to monopolize the coal trade in the territory.

While constructing their portion of the transcontinental railroad across Wyoming in June, 1868, Union Pacific work crews began to find evidence of coal. The company was quick to realize what a boon this would be to their undertaking. Not only was fuel for Union Pacific locomotives now readily available, but the excess yield from these mines could be retailed for a profit. An official of the Union Pacific noted of the finds in 1868:

A discovery of almost incalculable value to the Company and the entire country . . . has been that of enormous beds of very excellent coal in the Laramie Plains and the mountains of the West. This coal field is now being developed, and it is found to be the first yet opened west of the Missouri River.

A pair of enterprising Missourians, Cyrus O. Godfrey and Thomas Wardell, soon contracted with the railroad to prospect and mine coal along the line.⁵

By the end of 1869, there were Union Pacific coal mines operating at Carbon, Rock Springs and Almy in southern Wyoming. And, by all indications, these mines were being run "quite profitably." While professing to have only the public good in mind, for as one company spokesman observed, the railroad "was obligated to provide a supply of fuel at reasonable cost," they were interested first in realizing a gain. In fairness to the railroad, it must be noted that for a number of years after the 1869 completion of the road, the Union Pacific found it very difficult to meet its financial obligations incurred from construction costs.⁶

Yet the railroad also began to feel the sting of public criticism regarding its rate policy even before track was laid as far west as Ogden. The citizens of Fremont, Nebraska, for example, had accused the Union Pacific of charging freight rates that were so high that "they could get goods to and from Omaha [40 miles] cheaper by wagon than by rail." Within a few years, Utahns would echo this cry as they began to lambaste the "obduracy and monopolizing tendency" of the Union Pacific Railroad Company.⁷

The *Deseret News*, one of Salt Lake City's most read newspapers for the years under discussion, and the official organ of the Mormon church, made frequent mention of the coal issue, the Union Pacific and local rail ventures during the 1870s and 1880s. On May 19, 1869, the paper noted the conclusion of the transcontinental railroad and observed that "To the people of Utah . . . the completion of the Union Pacific Railroad is a matter of more significance and interest than to any other portion of their fellow citizens of the Union." This positive relationship between Utahns and the eastern railroad would prove to be short-lived, however. In early 1873, an editorial in the



Coalville, Utah

COURTESY UTAH STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Deseret News applauded the construction of a narrow-gauge line, the Utah Northern Railroad, as "the only sure solution [to] the problem of relief from the monopolizing and oppressive railroad tendencies of the period." In this regard the paper felt that "Utah was pointing the way."⁸

The demand for coal in the Salt Lake Valley had been growing since the mid-1860s as population and commercial interests in the area increased. Saw and grist mills, leather and textile industries and machine shops, along with private homes and other commercial enterprises, all required the use of fuel. To all Utahns coal was a precious commodity and a large supply of the product was essential to their interests. Young felt that the construction of a branch line from the Coalville mines to the Echo junction on the Union Pacific line from Wyoming to Ogden would not only facilitate the movement of large quantities of coal to Salt Lake City via the newly-constructed Utah Central, but would also promote local industry. In 1869, Young encouraged Bishop W. W. Cluff, the Mormon ecclesiastical leader at Coalville, to organize the members of

his congregation to lay a narrow-gauge track from Echo to the mines. As with most Mormon enterprises of this time, the Coalville and Echo Railroad was undertaken as a cooperative plan. The local people were to donate labor in return for stock in the new road.⁹

After a number of setbacks, which included the failure of the Union Pacific to honor an agreement to supply enough iron for tracks to complete both the Utah Central and the Coalville and Echo Railroads, work was suspended on the latter. Mormon authorities had now decided that coal from the Union Pacific's Rock Springs mines was of superior quality to local coal and could be easily obtained from said railroad at Ogden. How much pressure, if any, was applied by the Union Pacific interests to bring about this decision is unknown, but at any rate the people of Coalville never received any compensation for their many months of devoted labor.¹⁰

Following the withdrawal of the Coalville mines as a potential competitor, the Union Pacific began to enjoy the fruits of its monopoly. The railroad not only was able to

dictate the price of their coal from Wyoming, but could also set the rates for transshipping any coal which was wagon-freighted from Coalville to Echo. After the completion of the Utah Central, the Union Pacific chose to raise its shipping rates which kept the cost of coal delivered to Salt Lake City at a high level. Residents of the capital quickly came to label the Union Pacific as a "grasping monopolist" with no regard for the rights of the people. Not only were Salt Lake City industrialists concerned, but as winter approached citizens of modest means began to fear what their plight might be in the months ahead.¹¹

Under these circumstances, Young decided to try again the Coalville railroad project. Bishop Cluff, recently returned from a church proselytizing mission to Scandinavia, was once more called to supervise the construction. A new corporation, this time called the Summit County Railroad, was chartered in November, 1871. The plans called for a narrow-gauge line running from the Echo Station to the mines at Coalville and then on to the silver mining district of Park City—a distance of about 26 miles. It was anticipated that the railroad would eventually be linked with Salt Lake City by way of Park City and thus avoid any need to transship on the Union Pacific at all.¹²

Construction began on the Coalville to Echo section early in 1872. Much of the railroad grading had been done during the aborted effort three years earlier. Unfortunately, the Summit County road was unable to secure iron for rails and had to delay laying track until spring, 1873. As a consequence, the residents of Salt Lake City suffered a severe coal shortage during the winter of 1872-73.¹³

On June 15, 1873, the rail line from Coalville to Echo was finally completed. Within two months, Mormon officials proclaimed the entire undertaking "already a success."¹⁴ What they apparently chose to overlook, however, was the fact that Coalville coal was still hauled on the Union Pacific from Echo to Ogden and that road could continue to dictate fuel prices in the capital city through freight charges and access to Union Pacific cars. Since the larger line was reluctant to lose its monopoly over the Salt Lake City coal market or to allow Coalville to undersell its own Wyoming mines, it simply refused to recognize the Summit County upstart as a "feeder" line to its own track. Instead, the Union Pacific countered the new railroad by hiking their short-haul rates from Echo to Ogden to even higher levels.¹⁵

Although the Summit County Railroad was of at least a temporary benefit to Coalville's economy by allowing a much greater quantity of coal to reach Salt Lake City markets, it did not help lower fuel prices in that city. The new short-haul rates charged by the Union Pacific, which were increased from \$1.50 to \$3.76 per ton, pushed the Salt Lake City price of coal to prohibitive heights. The *Salt Lake Herald* accused the railroad of "robbing" the people of Coalville of \$500 a day by these actions.¹⁶ As the winter of 1873-74 approached, the inhabitants of the territorial capital feared an impending "coal famine."

The residents of Salt Lake City had already experienced a coal shortage the previous winter. In October, 1873, the *Deseret News* reminded its readers that "a portion of last winter many of the people were put to great inconvenience and some even suffered considerable distress" from the lack of heating fuel. Salt Lake City's bishops had been much concerned by the problems which high coal prices caused some of their poorer charges.¹⁷

The less fortunate were unable to purchase large quantities of coal at one time, but the Union Pacific did not favor sales of smaller amounts. However, many Salt Lake City merchants were willing to retail coal in affordable portions. The account books of one prominent businessman, George Nebeker, indicate that he often sold orders of 150 to 500 pounds to individual customers. Frequently this coal was obtained from Nebeker on credit with whatever amount of down payment the buyer could afford. During the colder months he would purchase more than 800 tons of coal per month for resale to consumers.¹⁸

In 1874, several prominent Salt Lake City Gentiles decided to try their hand at easing the local fuel crisis. On June 13, they organized the Salt Lake and Coalville Railroad as yet another Utah attempt to counter the Union Pacific coal monopoly. This line was proposed at the same time a Mormon group was considering a similar route, to be named the Utah Eastern. A brief but heated conflict erupted between the two parties which was not settled until September when Young interceded on behalf of the Mormons and the rival group withdrew from the contest. Yet, even when given a free rein, the Utah Eastern was unable to obtain sufficient money to begin construction and the line folded before a foot of track had been laid. The Union Pacific must have felt quite secure in its position since the various groups in Utah could not unite to oppose them. While the Mormons had the manpower to build a railroad and the Gentiles had the capital, seldom did the two sides meet.¹⁹

By 1875, it was all too apparent to Young that the Utah Central Railroad's struggle to be a viable shipper of freight from Ogden was becoming an unwinnable fight. The Union Pacific was too powerful to allow the small local line to thwart its coal policy. In the five years of existence, the Utah Central had failed to ease the fuel burden of Salt Lake City and the road was in dire financial straits. Ironically, Young finally had to sell controlling interest in the Utah Central to the Union Pacific Railroad for \$250,000. The larger company then acquired the Summit County line also and thus completely dictated the shipment of Coalville coal to Salt Lake City markets.²⁰

As the ready supply of cheap fuel became a major issue at Salt Lake City, its inhabitants became more and more convinced that it was time to free themselves of "a whimsical and apparently unscrupulous railroad company [the Union Pacific] for one of the necessities of life"—which coal had clearly become for late 19th century Utahns.²¹ Just a sampling of the published reports for the Utah Central

Railroad during 1876-77 bears this out. For January, 1876, in-bound coal shipments accounted for 13,302,610 pounds of freight out of 17,714,766 pounds hauled by the line (75.1% of the total). In March, 1876, as the weather warmed up a little, in-bound coal was 10,906,240 pounds of the 17,640,878 total pounds of incoming freight (61.8%). Even during the summer months Utahns consumed more than 3,000,000 pounds of coal a month.²² With coal being such a high demand item in the territory, it is not surprising that the Union Pacific wanted to secure as large a portion of the trade as possible.

Beginning during the summer, 1874, the railroad began to curtail the delivery of coal to smaller Salt Lake dealers. This new policy reflected the company's desire to deal only in large amounts of coal. Local criticism began to skyrocket as Utahns, "rich and poor alike," felt themselves to be locked in the "vice-like grip of these greedy cormorants" who sought only to enrich themselves.²³ However, the worst suffering from the Union Pacific's policies took place not in Salt Lake City, but at Coalville.

Due to the reduction in coal shipments from Echo to Ogden via the Union Pacific Railroad, the economy of Coalville was devastated. During February, 1876, more than two-thirds of the community's work force was unemployed because the Union Pacific refused to supply sufficient freight cars to ship Summit County coal to Ogden and on to Salt Lake City. The explanation given by the railroad was that all available cars were needed to ship coal from its own Rock Springs, Wyoming, mine. But the people of Coalville were convinced that the real reason was that the Union Pacific was attempting to force them out of the coal business. They further charged that the company was trying to force its own coal on the people of the territory "knowing that the consumers will be compelled to purchase from them when there is no other coal on the market."²⁴

On November 29, 1876, in a front page editorial, the *Deseret News* bemoaned that "the coal famine in this city still continues, owing to the [tendency] of the Union Pacific Railroad Company, in persisting in their refusal to supply sufficient transportation for . . . coal, that the trade may continue to be monopolized by the coal mines in which they themselves have interest." The editor went on to observe that the "public mind is gradually being awakened to the necessity of the people being placed beyond the reach" of the Union Pacific. Yet this unrest in the capital city was mild compared to feelings in Summit County.

Correspondence from Coalville received by the *Deseret News* in December bristled with rage. Residents of the mining community seemed to feel anger not only at the Union Pacific, but also, perhaps, felt that Salt Lakers did not appreciate Summit County's stake in the issue. "The coal question, which has agitated the mind of the people so much of late," the writer noted, "is approaching a crisis [at Coalville]." Contrary to the situation of Salt Lake residents, "[w]ith Summit County it is not merely the dif-

ference of one, two, or three dollars more in the price of a ton of coal, but it is to a very great extent a question of how our bread and butter shall come." Inhabitants of the mining country were worried about the loss of their homes which had been built with so much time and effort. In fact, the author wrote, "it is everything, both socially and politically with us."²⁵ While Salt Lakers were inconvenienced by the Union Pacific's coal policy, Summit County residents felt their hopes and dreams were being destroyed.

The Union Pacific's "freeze out" of the Coalville mines continued through the end of the decade. In December, 1876, the company strengthened its monopoly of the Utah coal trade with the purchase of Mormon-owned mines at Chalk Creek in Summit County. They then forced independent mine owners of the community into a contract by threatening to close permanently the rail line to Ogden to all Coalville traffic if they refused to comply. The agreement stipulated that the Union Pacific would purchase all coal mined in Summit County, but the miners were not to be allowed to sell their product elsewhere. A *Deseret News* editorial published on December 5, 1877, observed: "We believe that the coal business in this part [of the country] is now entirely in the hands of the Union Pacific Railroad Company."

Once the contract had been signed, the railroad regularly decreased the number of freight cars available to ship Summit County coal on the pretext of a shortage of rolling stock. By spring, 1878, the coal trade of the county was "virtually extinguished."²⁶ This development not only crippled Coalville and the surrounding towns, but initiated a worsening of the already bad fuel situation at Salt Lake City as well.

Utahns responded by attacking the Union Pacific from all sides. In early 1880, the coal merchants of Salt Lake City publicly noted that they had always been willing to sell their product in small amounts (50-100 pounds) for the sake of the poor. It was, they argued, the Union Pacific who now made this impossible due to the exorbitant prices retailers had to pay for coal. They charged that Abram Gould, the Salt Lake agent for the company's coal mines, now controlled the entire supply of fuel coming into the city. The dealers then petitioned Gould for more coal at lower prices. He at first refused, but then relented and agreed to ship coal in smaller quantities.²⁷

By fall, 1880, Salt Lake City was again in the midst of a coal famine. The Union Pacific shipped insufficient quantities into the city and charged exceedingly high prices. Utahns started to express general dissatisfaction as winter approached. The *Deseret News* charged that the Union Pacific seemed disposed to "squeeze" Salt Lake City on the coal question regardless of who suffered.²⁸ Once again the press and the public began to call for the construction of another railroad to ease the fuel situation.

In December, 1879, a bill had been passed in the Utah legislature that authorized the issuance of bonds for the

construction of a rail line from Coalville directly to Salt Lake City by way of Park City. The main object of this bill was to facilitate the delivery of fuel at lower prices than those currently being offered by the Union Pacific for coal from its Wyoming mines. Inexplicably, Governor George B. Emery, who would leave the office the following month, vetoed the bill. Shortly thereafter, the project, now once again called the Utah Eastern Railroad, was undertaken privately by Mormon and non-Mormon businessmen from Salt Lake City. In order to insure that the Union Pacific could not buy up controlling interest in the road, the stockholders elected three trustees in whose hands the majority stock was placed. Company stock was to be inalienable for a period of fifteen years—that is, while it could be transferred it nevertheless remained under control of the trustees for voting purposes.²⁹

No other local railroad had aroused so much public enthusiasm and media attention as did the Utah Eastern. The *Deseret News* and the *Salt Lake Herald* had each done much during the preceeding years to keep the so-called "coal

road" issue alive in the territory. Both journals now carried numerous editorials urging support of the Utah Eastern, which was hailed as the new protector of the people's rights. And, perhaps because this time the railroad venture combined Mormon and Gentile interests, the *Salt Lake Tribune*, the city's non-Mormon newspaper, joined in the praises and predicted that "by next October Zion [Salt Lake City] will be connected with the coal field at Coalville and vicinity."³⁰ The newspapers and the general public all tended to charge the Union Pacific with full responsibility for the low quantity and high price of coal.

In order to gain adequate financial backing for the newest Utah coal road, its management decided to sell \$100.00 shares at half price. The "public" nature of the railroad was stressed as Mormon bishops, local businessmen and newspaper editors were all enlisted in support of the cause. When this community fund-raising campaign failed to net enough money for rails and rolling stock, the Ontario Mining Company of Park City, Utah's leading bullion producer and an obvious beneficiary of the



Union Pacific coal mine at Rock Springs, Wyoming.



UTAH STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Park City, Utah

new road, provided the needed cash.³¹ The Union Pacific did not stand idly by as Utahns schemed to put an end to their coal monopoly, however.

They soon began to construct their own line between Coalville and Park City that ran parallel to that of the Utah Eastern in hopes of driving the new line out of business by offering competition for control of the roadway. With other lines available to keep its income high, the Union Pacific intended to crush the upstart company by underpricing their services. And, as luck would have it, they owned the legal right-of-way to the land exactly parallel to the Utah Eastern roadbed. If the Union Pacific could accomplish this it would then have unchallenged control of the northern Utah transportation market.

The new road refused to be bullied by its stronger competitor, however. As the *Herald* editorialized: "To give up now would be to fasten the chains tighter upon the country, for the Union Pacific has only to block the way to Coalville, [then] it will have Salt Lake City perpetually at its mercy in the matter of coal prices."³² This contest between the local company and the national giant soon developed into a race from Coalville to Park City. Despite Union Pacific efforts to thwart its construction, the Utah Eastern reached Park City at the end of 1880, about one

month ahead of its competitor. For the three years following this successful defeat of the much-loathed monopoly by the "people's road," things went well for the Utah Eastern. It ran at near-capacity and paid its own way entirely. Between December, 1880, and December, 1883, the road earned nearly \$180,000, over half of which was gained by supplying the Ontario mines with coal.³³ However, the Union Pacific was quietly at work setting the machinery in motion which would allow them to regain control of the Utah fuel trade.

The Ontario Mining Company had gradually gained greater power in the management of the Utah Eastern due to the stock it owned and the mortgage bonds which it held as collateral for its earlier loan to the company. Apparently without the notice of the road's three trustees, J. B. Haggin, who was a vice-president of Wells-Fargo Company and the Nevada Central Railroad, as well as president of the Ontario Mining Company, had accumulated enough Utah Eastern stock to gain a majority interest in the concern by fall, 1881. Two years later, the Union Pacific bought these shares from Haggin and by late 1883 was prepared to assume control of the local company. At a meeting of all the other stock holders in November of that year, the easterners surprised the other investors by electing their

own representatives to the Board of Directors, placing their own people in charge of management and removing the records of the Utah Eastern to Omaha.³⁴ Despite all of their earlier precautions, the Utahns had lost another, and apparently final, round to the Union Pacific. Many people may have been reminded of an editorial which had appeared in the *Deseret News* several months earlier assailing the Union Pacific's monopolistic practices: "[If] this kind of thing goes on it will only be necessary to change the name of this section of the country to U. P. instead of U. T. [Utah Territory]."³⁵ But, happily for the Utahns, relief from the coal bondage of the eastern railroad soon appeared on the horizon.

The Denver and Rio Grande Western, or the "Western" as it was popularly known, had reached Ogden by summer, 1883, and was eager to challenge the Union Pacific for control of the Utah coal trade. By mid-1881, the Western had merged with two local roads in central Utah and by 1882 had added two more. Within the Utah Territory, the Denver and Rio Grande Western operation was basically a compilation of many small mining railroads.³⁶ A competition soon developed between the Union Pacific and the Western which lowered freight rates and delighted Utahns. The rate war which ensued for control of the Utah coal market, while nearly ruinous to the two companies involved, fulfilled the fondest dreams of Salt Lake City residents and businessmen.

While the victory over the Union Pacific was finally won by the community interests with the aid of the Denver and Rio Grande Western, it had not been accomplished by any of the home efforts to wrestle control of the coal trade from the eastern giant. The Utah railroads were never able, on a long-term basis, to compete with the Union Pacific. One reason for this failure was Salt Lake City's heavy dependency on coal to heat its homes and run its factories. While many Salt Lakers vehemently opposed the outsider's monopoly of the essentials of life in Utah, they simply could not afford to boycott the company's product. Also, Utah railroad builders, with or without the support of the Mormon church, often lacked the capital to get their projects off the drawing board.

Finally, and just as importantly, with the exception of the Utah Eastern Railroad in the early 1880s, there existed a lack of unified effort on the part of would-be Utah efforts to establish a home road. Either Mormon church-backed interests would attempt to build a coal road, such as the Coalville and Echo line or its successor the Summit County Railroad, or there would be a non-church affiliated plan like the Salt Lake and Coalville Railroad. Much to the detriment of the territory's economy, Utah railroad promoters certainly seemed to be just as competitive with one another as they were with the Union Pacific.

The price of coal and an adequate fuel supply had greatly agitated Utahns in the immediate post-Civil War years. The Union Pacific Railroad came to be a hiss and a byword in the territory's newspapers and on the lips of

its inhabitants—both Mormon and Gentile. The extent of lasting animosity by Utahns toward the Union Pacific Railroad in the years following the arrival of the challenger from Denver is difficult to assess. Salt Lake City's Chamber of Commerce, in an 1888 publication, praised the Denver and Rio Grande Western for fostering a policy viewed as "universally friendly to Salt Lake City and conducive to the development of Utah Territory." The Union Pacific was not even mentioned in this promotional literature. Two years previously, Edward Tullidge in his history of Salt Lake City had called the Western "our local road." On the other hand, H. W. B. Kantner, a Salt Laker, who in 1896 wrote a treatise on Utah's mines, believed that "[t]here has been no greater factor in the development of the manifold mineral resources of this region than the Union Pacific Railroad."³⁷ While the Chamber of Commerce and historian Tullidge probably reflected a continuing public distaste for the Union Pacific, Kantner's observation was an objective assessment of the contributions of the railroad to the growth of Utah.

M. GUY BISHOP received his Ph.D. in History from Southern Illinois University, Carbondale. Presently he is Head of Research Services, Seaver Center for Western History Research, Los Angeles County Museum of Natural History.

1. *Deseret Evening News* [Salt Lake City], November 17, 1880.
2. For an overview of Utah's fuel needs and its railroads, see Clarence A. Reeder, "The History of Utah's Railroads" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Utah, 1970). Thomas G. Alexander, "From Dearth to Deluge: Utah's Coal Industry," *Utah Historical Quarterly*, 31 (Summer 1963): 235-36, provides a survey of the territory's early coal mining efforts.
3. See Robert G. Athearn, "Opening the Gates of Zion: Utah and the Coming of the Union Pacific Railroad," *Utah Historical Quarterly*, 36 (Fall 1968): 291-315; also useful is Leonard J. Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom: An Economic History of the Latter-day Saints, 1830-1900* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1958), pp. 258-70.
4. In regard to the Union Pacific's coal mining concerns, see [George B. Pryde, et. al.] *History of the Union Pacific Coal Mines 1868 to 1940* (Omaha: The Colonial Press, 1940). Helpful in understanding the railroad's economic thinking is Robert William Fogel, *The Union Pacific: A Case in Premature Enterprise* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1960). As Fogel has noted, the decade of the 1870s witnessed "sharply declining prices" overall (95-6), which would have only made the Union Pacific look even more culpable to the people of Utah.
5. Quotation in *History of the Union Pacific Coal Mines*, pp. 10-11; see also Robert G. Athearn, *Union Pacific Country* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1976), p. 139.
6. *History of the Union Pacific Coal Mines*, pp. 46-49; also see Nelson Trotter, *History of the Union Pacific: A Financial and Economic Survey* (New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1923), pp. 99-103.

7. John P. Davis, *The Union Pacific Railway: A Study in Railway Politics, History, and Economics* (Chicago: S. C. Griggs and Company, 1894), p. 207; *Deseret News* [Salt Lake City], November 29, 1876.
8. *Deseret News*, February 12, 1873.
9. Reeder, "Utah's Railroads," p. 320; Leonard J. Arrington, "Utah's Coal Road in the Age of Unregulated Competition," *Utah Historical Quarterly*, 23 (January 1958): 38. Brigham Young held a unique position in all Mormon railroad building projects until his death in 1877. As president of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, he was also its trustee-in-trust and administered all Mormon funds. So in this capacity, and with access to the church's treasury, Young was able to wield much economic power within the Utah Territory. See Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom*, pp. 257-58.
10. Reeder, "Utah's Railroads," pp. 321-23; Arrington, "Coal Road," p. 38.
11. Reeder, "Utah's Railroads," p. 325.
12. Arrington, "Coal Road," p. 39.
13. Reeder, "Utah's Railroads," p. 328.
14. *The Herald* [Salt Lake City], August 17, 1873.
15. Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom*, pp. 275-76.
16. *The Herald*, July 3, 1874; see also the *Deseret News*, July 1, 1874.
17. *Deseret News*, October 29, 1873. The concern of Salt Lake City's Mormon bishops had first been noted in the *Deseret News* on November 23, 1872.
18. George Nebeker, Account Books, 1873-74 and 1875-76, Utah State Historical Society Library, Salt Lake City.
19. See Reeder, "Utah's Railroads," pp. 331-32; *Salt Lake Tribune*, September 10, 1874.
20. For a discussion of the collapse of these Mormon railroads, see Arrington, "Coal Road," pp. 42-43.
21. *Deseret News*, July 15, 1874.
22. *Deseret News*, February 23, April 19, July 19, 1876.
23. *The Herald*, July 16, 1874.
24. *Deseret Evening News*, March 24, 1876; *Deseret News*, February 28, 1876.
25. *Deseret News*, December 20, 1876.
26. *Ibid.*, April 4, 1878. On the Union Pacific's actions to maintain their monopoly over the Coalville trade, see Reeder, "Utah's Railroads," p. 338.
27. *Deseret Evening News*, March 11, 13, 1880.
28. *Deseret News*, October 20, 1880.
29. See the *Salt Lake Tribune*, November 5, 1879, for an early reference to the project, then known as the Salt Lake, Park City and Coalville Railroad. The subsequent incorporation of the Utah Eastern was reported by the *Tribune* on December 28, 1879. Also see Hubert H. Bancroft, *History of Utah 1540-1886* (San Francisco: The History Company, Publishers, 1889), pp. 757-58; and Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom*, pp. 347-48. Governor Emery was highly unpopular among Utah's residents, due in part at his strict efforts to maintain neutrality in all issues. The *Salt Lake Tribune* had observed on December 24, 1879, that "[t]o Mormon and non-Mormon alike . . . his word can never be trusted." Although he lobbied for reappointment, most Utahns were apparently relieved when it did not happen. The three trustees whose job it was to safeguard Utah Eastern stock included John J. Winder and Leonard Hardy, who were ecclesiastical leaders of the Mormon kingdom and Fred Auerbach, a Jewish businessman from Salt Lake City.
30. *Deseret News*, October 18, November 11, 1880; the *Herald*, May 14, October 15, 1880; and the *Salt Lake Tribune*, December 28, 1879.
31. Reeder, "Utah's Railroads," p. 343; Charles S. Peterson, *Utah: A History* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1977), p. 74.
32. *The Herald*, June 20, 1880.
33. *Deseret News*, January 19, 1881. Regarding the race to Park City between the Utah Eastern and the Union Pacific, the most detailed account is in Arrington, "Coal Road," pp. 53-55.
34. Arrington, "Coal Road," p. 56.
35. *Deseret News*, April 15, 1882.
36. See Robert G. Athearn, *Rebel of the Rockies* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1962), p. 116. The four Utah roads which merged with the Western were the Sevier Valley Railway, the Pleasant Valley Railway, the Bingham Canyon and Camp Floyd Railroad and the Jordan Valley Railroad.
37. [Chamber of Commerce], *Salt Lake City* (Chicago: Rand McNally & Company, 1888), pp. 68-69; Tullidge, *The History of Salt Lake City*, p. 723; H. W. B. Kantner, *A Handbook on the Mines, Miners, and Minerals of Utah* (Salt Lake City: R. W. Sloan, 1896), p. 1.



COURTESY THE AUTHOR

HANDMADE TRUNKS

by
Mariann McCormick



Author's Note: My interest in an old trunk was piqued by the nameplate on the lid indicating the trunk had been manufactured at Cheyenne, Wyoming. Most of the people I talked with had never heard of the Cheyenne Trunk Factory, which furthered my determination of finding out more about this nearly forgotten business enterprise that was a rarity in Wyoming.

In addition to its historical value, the story can also be used as a guideline in establishing authentic antique status of trunks handmade by the Cheyenne Trunk Factory.

Many people came west in the early 1900s lured by land deals, sheep and cattle ventures, or perhaps dreams of mineral wealth; William H. Vanderhoff came as a master of his trade. He established a trunk factory and became a successful entrepreneur in a frontier town out on the high plains of Wyoming. The Cheyenne Trunk Factory survived when many other businesses failed, although its tenure would be abruptly affected by an unfortunate tragedy.

Vanderhoff had come from "back east" by train to Cheyenne in 1904. By that time, the city already had a skyline presided over by the gold dome of the State Capitol Building, and he would have arrived at the attractive Union Pacific Depot. Both buildings gave impressive reassurance that this was not just a tent city on the plains. Vanderhoff was by then a 48-year-old man with "thirty-four years' experience"¹ in trunk and luggage manufacturing. Although he had arrived here "without friends or influence,"² his sense of timing along with choice of location proved advantageous to him.

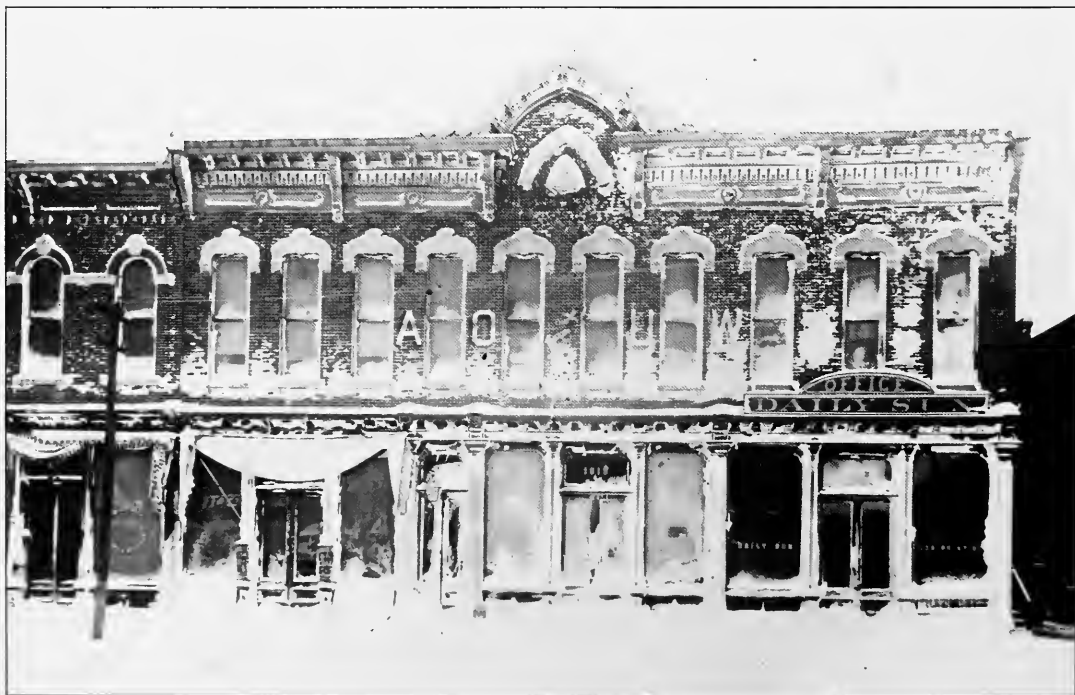
Business was brisk from the very beginning when the Cheyenne Trunk Factory opened August 1, 1904, at 1615 Eddy Street (later renamed Pioneer Avenue), across from the famous Dyer Hotel.³ The *Cheyenne Daily Leader* told of the successful growth of the enterprise and stated: "The plant is equipped with all the modern appliances . . . including the strongest bending machine known to the trade, which is used in bending steel for trunks, cases,

etc."⁴ Initially, the shop sold handmade trunks for "\$6.50 up,"⁵ while later a low price of "\$4.50"⁶ was advertised.

Before long, the demand for his products necessitated both additional help and expanded shop space at the Eddy Street factory. Subsequent to a trip Vanderhoff made back east to recruit an experienced trunk maker,⁷ a news item heading, "In New Location," appeared in the *Wyoming Tribune*, July 2, 1908. The article explained that the factory was moving "into a better location and a bigger store at 316 W. 16th Street, where he [Vanderhoff] will have 1,800 square feet of floor space."⁸ The two buildings were only a block apart, but the new address faced a busy thoroughfare. Vanderhoff occupied convenient living quarters to the rear of the building. At this address he advertised a drawing for "An elegant \$50.00 wardrobe trunk,"⁹ which was won by "Professor Dunn of the Atlas Theatre."¹⁰ What a thrill it would be to discover where-in-the-world that trunk is today.

Six years later the only explanation given for another intended change in location was a succinctly worded announcement, "I Must Move," in the *Cheyenne State Leader*, July 2, 1914.¹¹ By September, the factory was doing business in the recently built Deming Building, 1618 Central.¹² However, it occupied that space only temporarily.

In about six months, another move was reported in the *Wyoming Tribune*, March 11, 1915, as follows: "The Cheyenne Trunk Factory is now located at 1616 Capitol."¹³



The original location of the Cheyenne Trunk factory was next door to the former Cheyenne Daily Sun office on Eddy Street, now Pioneer Avenue.

This was a prime location with living space available near the back of the one-story building. And this became the factory's permanent address.

Naming this business a "factory" was no misnomer, but to assume there was a substantial number of employees is misleading. It was the quality and uniqueness of its manufactured goods rather than the size of its payroll that brought recognition to the Cheyenne Trunk Factory.¹⁴ In the late 1920s, the state departments of Agriculture and Commerce and Industry, along with Wyoming's manufacturers and producers, joined together in an organized promotional campaign for the purpose of finding markets for Wyoming made goods and products. Interestingly, when cities across the state and their representative products were named, the "manufacturing of trunks and suitcases" was singularly chosen to represent Cheyenne's industrial output.¹⁵

From the start, the factory had stiff competition from The Bon, Wm. Myers Dry Goods and other local merchants. Theirs were commercially made trunks while Vanderhoff took pride in building his own, specializing in custom-made to order. The shop also did repair work and provided a key fitting service.

Though trunks and suitcases were the basic stock of manufactured merchandise, many other leather items were offered. These included: Oxford bags, grips, portmanteaus, music folds and rolls, cases for engineer's and surveyor's equipment and smaller items such as billfolds and pocketbooks.

Military personnel at nearby Fort D. A. Russell (now Francis E. Warren AFB) must not be overlooked in contributing to the success of this company because of their need for trunks and luggage. Furthermore, they would have recognized the quality and reasonable prices of the merchandise.

An adept businessman, Vanderhoff realized the value of advertising frequently in the local newspapers. Early day ads featured railroad-related scenes along with luggage; a porter balancing a trunk on his shoulder;¹⁶ a loaded baggage cart waiting for the incoming train.¹⁷ One especially amusing ad pictured a complete disaster with a porter's hat flying into the wind while the trunks and luggage he was moving on a loading dolly were tumbling off to the ground.¹⁸ Vanderhoff gallantly acknowledged milady as a traveler, picturing her in a long coat and fancy headgear, with an umbrella and an ample stack of luggage.¹⁹

The success of this business could almost be sensed by its newspaper advertising, lack of which at Christmas in 1919 and 1920-21, indicated a period of changes. Later there was an announcement by Vanderhoff that he had "retired on account of ill health in 1922,"²⁰ which coincides with the arrival in Cheyenne of Joseph J. Barbican.

Joe Barbican (whose father also was a trunk maker in Denver) was hired to take over the factory in 1922, continuing with the manufacturing and repair service, but with the noticeable addition of carrying a national brand of Hart-

mann luggage.²¹ Barbican's innovative merchandising ideas were reflected by stocking various other retail lines, such as hat boxes, tapestry hand bags and many small sets and items, one called a "tight wad." Surviving not only local competition but the financial stress of the depression years of the 1920s required shrewd business acumen which Barbican obviously possessed, and the factory continued to be successful. Eventually he bought the business; however, it was a short-lived ownership.

Joe lived in the rear of the shop on Capitol Avenue, but rented garage space for his 1928 Chrysler coupe a short walk from the factory. What a shock it was to read on the front page of the April 8, 1932, *Wyoming State Tribune and Cheyenne State Leader*:

Gas From Car Exhaust Kills Cheyenne Man . . . A victim of carbon monoxide gas from the exhaust of his automobile, on which he had evidently been working, J. J. Barbican was found dead Friday morning in his garage. Coroner . . . and Sheriff . . . said that death was accidental and that no inquest will be held. . . . The hood of the car was raised, indicating that Barbican was tuning up the motor when overcome by gas. Barbican's death is the second caused by monoxide gas in the history of Laramie County. . . .

With his demise came an abrupt closure of the 28 year old business enterprise (1904-1932) that had thrived in the downtown business district.

Joe Barbican was 45 years of age and left no wife or children. Members of his family who came from Denver decided the most expedient way of disposing of the factory inventory was to sell a "package deal,"²² and the merchandise was purchased and resold by Wolf's Store on West 16th Street.²³ Inasmuch as the Cheyenne Trunk Factory had always rented or leased space, there was no real estate involved in the sale.

At the time of the Barbican tragedy, Vanderhoff was 76 years of age. According to those who remember him in his later years:

Van had retired to a lifestyle of hunting, fishing and playing pinochle with the boys at Boyd's Cigar Store No. 2. He looked forward to reading the old cowboy stories in *Argosy*, then discussing them with his friends. Going camping was one of his favorite outings and it takes little imagination to picture him sitting in the shadows of an evening campfire playing a lively tune such as "Dance of the Mountain Goat," on his harmonica. Unforgettable thoughts of Van's cooking the best pot of baked beans ever tasted is remembered to this day. He was a man of average height, quiet, but friendly. He smoked both a pipe and a hookah. Owning an automobile [two Jewetts]²⁴ gave him much pleasure, even driving it so far as Tarpon Springs, Florida, on a fishing trip. Van enjoyed the companionship of two Airedale dogs. His first dog, 'Danny,' later replaced by 'Zit,' was always seen walking along with his master. There was a striking resemblance between Van and his dog, which is understandable as he had a good head of hair and wore a beard, both neatly clipped; similarly, his bearded Airedale was kept equally well groomed.²⁵

Military service as a "Private in Company 'M,' 2nd Virginia Infantry, in 1898,"²⁶ accredited Vanderhoff Spanish-American War Veteran status of which he was most proud. His friends have recalled how remarkable it



The facade of the third address from the left displays the Cheyenne Trunk Factory sign. Another sign in the window under awning reads, "Leather Goods—Handmade Trunks."

COURTESY MRS. ELANOR TEAL

was that "Van could still fit into his uniform and enjoyed marching in the Memorial Day parades."²⁷

Back in 1909-10, Van had invested in two vacant residential lots, so when Barbian came to manage the trunk factory Van moved into his own home at 3316 Washington (later renumbered and renamed 3116 Bent), living there about six years, then renting it out and finally selling it in 1931.²⁸

Probably missing the activity and convenience of the downtown area, he moved into a rented room nearby at 1822 Thomes, a large fourteen room, two-story house, owned by Jacob F. Weybrecht. Weybrecht served as a Commissioner and became a one-term mayor of Cheyenne.

Living in politically active surroundings undoubtedly stimulated an interest in running for public office; consequently Vanderhoff was listed on the Republican ballot as a candidate for Justice of the Peace in the 1930 Primary Election,²⁹ but was defeated.³⁰ Prominently featured in his political advertisement was reference to his past service in the Spanish-American War.³¹

Self-sufficient as this gentleman had always been, the time came when there was a need for additional care, so using his veteran eligibility he went to live at the Soldiers and Sailors Home at Buffalo, Wyoming.³² On July 7, 1946,

Vanderhoff died at the Veterans Hospital at Fort MacKenzie, near Sheridan, Wyoming,³³ a long way from where he was born on November 15, 1856, at Rockaway, New Jersey.³⁴ "Burial was in the Spanish-American War Veteran Section of the Buffalo city cemetery with space reserved for his wife"³⁵—an unlikely event in that there was no spouse or descendants.³⁶

Due mainly to mobility of the military, trunks manufactured by the Cheyenne Trunk Factory could surface in any section of this country today. Reasonably, these trunks will soon be starting to acquire antique status along with an appreciable increase in dollar value.³⁷

MARIANN McCORMICK, a retired U.S. Civil Service employee from Cheyenne, acquired an interest in American Indians as a child growing up in Iowa. Upon moving to Wyoming, that interest blended with the historical westward migratory movement.

1. "Cheyenne Trunk Factory," *Cheyenne Daily Leader*, Industrial Edition Supplement, February 18, 1906, p. 3.
2. "In New Location," *Wyoming Tribune*, July 2, 1908, p. 5.
3. *Cheyenne Daily Leader*, February 18, 1906.
4. *Ibid.*
5. *Ibid.*, October 23, 1904, p. 3.
6. *Cheyenne State Leader*, January 25, 1914, p. 2.
7. *Wyoming Tribune*, March 11, 1907, p. 8.
8. *Ibid.*, July 2, 1908, p. 5.
9. *Ibid.*, December 7, 1909, p. 4.
10. *Ibid.*, January 3, 1910, p. 5.
11. *Cheyenne State Leader*, July 2, 1914, p. 2.
12. *Ibid.*, September 2, 1914, p. 5.
13. *Wyoming Tribune*, March 11, 1915, p. 8.
14. A small label indicating a possible union affiliation has been found attached to the inside lid of several trunks manufactured by this company. The significance of the label has been discussed with the owner of the A. E. Meek Trunk and Bag Company, Denver, Colorado, and with the Executive Secretary, AFL-CIO, Cheyenne. Correspondence with the Union Label and Service Trades Department, AFL-CIO, Washington, D.C., also has been initiated. Whether the factory was, or was not, a "union shop" per se is unknown. Some items and accessories used in the manufacturing process could have been union made by other suppliers, thus explaining the presence of the label.
15. "Wyoming Producers to Meet in Casper," *Wyoming Labor Journal*, June 21, 1929, p. 1.
16. *Cheyenne Daily Leader*, December 9, 1906, p. 7.
17. *Ibid.*, June 8, 1907, p. 4.
18. *Wyoming Tribune*, March 11, 1907, p. 3.
19. *Ibid.*, August 3, 1908, p. 4.
20. *Wyoming State Tribune and Cheyenne State Leader*, August 15, 1930, p. 2.
21. *Ibid.*, December 8, 1922, p. 10.
22. Probate File, Joseph J. Barbian, 1932, Archives and Records Management Division, Wyoming State Archives, Museums and Historical Department (AMH), Cheyenne, Wyoming.
23. *Wyoming State Tribune and Cheyenne State Leader*, May 13, 1932, p. 9.
24. Wyoming State Motor Vehicle Registration, Wm. H. Vanderhoff, No. 5452 (1924); No. 3826 (1933), Archives and Records Management Division, AMH Dept.
25. Interviews, by telephone and personal, with Mrs. Mary Elizabeth Carpenter, nee Long, and Mrs. Mary Ellen Wolf, nee Weybrecht, at various times during 1983-84. Because Andy Weybrecht knew Van the best, Mrs. Wolf collaborated with her brother who supplied or confirmed personal remembrances of Vanderhoff and his dogs.
26. Wyoming State Board of Charities and Reform, Soldiers and Sailors Home, Wm. H. Vanderhoff, 1943-46, Archives and Records Management Division, AMH Dept.
27. Interviews with Carpenter and Wolf, 1983-84.
28. Residential Property Records, Wm. H. Vanderhoff, Laramie County Assessor and Real Estate, Book G. Holdridge 2nd Addition, Block 1, Lot 15, July 10, 1909, Ref. 159, p. 104; Lot 16, February 16, 1910, Ref. 166, p. 145; Lot 15, February 4, 1931, Ref. 297, p. 482.
29. "Legal Notices," *Wyoming State Tribune and Cheyenne State Leader*, August 18, 1930, p. 6.
30. *Ibid.*, August 20, 1930, p. 1.
31. *Ibid.*, August 15, 1930, p. 2.
32. Soldiers and Sailors Home, Vanderhoff, 1943-46, Archives and Records Management Division, AMH Dept.
33. "War Veteran Dies in Hospital Here," *Sheridan (Wyoming) Press*, July 8, 1946, p. 7.
34. Soldiers and Sailors Home, Vanderhoff, 1943-46, Archives and Records Management Division, AMH Dept.
35. Interviews, by telephone and personal, with Olaf Dobrzanski, Adams Funeral Home, Buffalo, Wyoming, 1983-84.
36. Soldiers and Sailors Home, Vanderhoff, 1943-46, Archives and Records Management Division, AMH Dept.
37. Trunks known to have been manufactured at the Cheyenne Trunk Factory include several owned by Mary Ellen Wolf of Laramie, Wyoming. Two of her trunks were formerly Vanderhoff's personal trunks. A trunk purchased directly from the factory by Mrs. R. E. Evans of Cheyenne was inherited by her daughter Olive Maxon Jones and now belongs to the author. An oak trunk manufactured at the Cheyenne Trunk Factory is a valued possession of Mrs. Ruby Christian of Lusk, Wyoming. Mr. and Mrs. Lloyd Osborn of Cheyenne have given a steamer trunk made at this factory to the Cheyenne Frontier Days Old West Museum.

THE CHANGING FACE OF COWBOY STATE AGRICULTURE:

Turn of the Century Wyoming Agriculturalist — a Demographic Profile

by Vicki Page and William L. Hewitt

Frederick Jackson Turner's essay, "The Significance of the Frontier in American History," read before the 1893 American Historical Association meeting in Chicago, has been the basis for a prolific array of scholarship dealing with the American West. Turner mourned the end of the westward line of settlement. As proof, he cited the report of the Superintendent of the Census for 1890 which held that the "isolated bodies of settlement" had erased a discernible "frontier line."¹ Farmers and their families, moreover, seemed to be occupying all of the arable land in the West by the early 20th century. As Turner suggested, "stand at Cumberland Gap and watch the procession of civilization, marching single file—the buffalo following the trail to the salt springs, the Indian, the fur-trader and hunter, the cattle-raiser, the pioneer farmer—and the frontier has passed by. Stand at South Pass in the Rockies a century later and see the same procession with wider intervals between."² This was certainly the case in turn-of-the-century Wyoming, where farmers homesteaded on the irrigation and dry farming lands opened to settlement in the state.

The farmers themselves, and the promoters and politicians of territorial Wyoming who backed them, viewed the Cowboy State as a land of great agricultural possibilities.³ The author of the Cheyenne Business Directory as early as 1868, for example, exuded optimism—and foretold Turner's thesis—when describing the state's potential:

Many districts of north-western Wyoming represent every inducement to the agriculturalist and stock raiser to prove their callings. . . . A few years only will elapse before thousands of hardy industrious farmers will be in possession of happy homes for themselves and families in the fertile valleys of Wyoming, adjacent to mines, the inhabitants of which will be ready purchasers for all the produce raised, thus affording a ready market and certain affluence to the husbandman.⁴

In Wyoming, however, the enormous growth of the range cattle industry in the late 1870s and the early 1880s eclipsed the emphasis many early promoters of the state had put on crop cultivation. The Wyoming cattle industry, in fact, seemed to verify Turner's progression and thrived largely unchallenged until the mid 1880s. Then, overstocking of the range and a dry summer, followed by a severe winter from 1886 to 1887, combined to force change in the

open range cattle industry. As John Clay, often quoted chronicler of the cattle industry, lamented, "the old love of the open range, the burning fires of old days smoldered, sometimes flashing into flames, but the old regime passed away."⁵ As farmers occupied the cattleman's domain, cattlemen offered little encouragement for success to would-be homesteaders. G. A. Hart, the local passenger agent at Douglas, for example, wrote to Chicago, Burlington and Quincy officials on April 18, 1916, that the cattlemen and sheepmen in his vicinity were, even at that late date, "not inclined to encourage the average homesteader As a rule these fellows question the probability of an eastern farmer coming into this community with a view of devoting their time to agriculture." For best results though, according to Douglas stockmen, the new arrival "will work their capital into stock as much as possible and combine the stock raising with other farming pursuits." The stock raisers feared, according to Hart, that in the event of droughts, the farmer who failed would become an object of charity for the county. Hart suggested, in order to avoid this situation, that the railroad "get in touch with the more thrifty class of emigrants who are in a position to withstand a few adversities."⁶

The old ways, despite the inroads of farmers into the cattleman's domain, died hard. Walter Prescott Webb aptly stated that "there clings about ranching more of romance than is found appertaining to any other occupation in America."⁷ Another early historian of the cattle industry, Edward Everett Dale, observed further that some ranch-

men desperately clung to the old order with an almost religious fervor and held fast to the belief that the farmers who invaded their domain would eventually return to the old homes from whence they had come and that the region would once again become a pastoral empire as in days gone by.⁸

The farmers remained in Wyoming, however, turning in the first decade of the 20th century to cash crops such as sugar beets and cattle feed, and bringing in agricultural workers to plant, cultivate and harvest these crops. Who were these farmers and laborers? Where did they come from before settling in Wyoming? And, what comparisons and contrasts can be made between these new arrivals and the cowboys and cattlemen who settled in Wyoming in the 19th century? The transformation of Wyoming agriculture from largely cattle producing domains, into a region of mixed agriculture of farming and ranching, producing cattle feed and cash crops such as sugar beets, produced a change in the characteristics of Cowboy State agriculturalists.

Using the manuscript census Turner used to characterize the progression of settlement and ultimately the frontier, it is possible to profile turn-of-the-century Wyoming agriculturalists. The data in this study were obtained from manuscript census sheets prepared by the Assistant United States Marshal in 1880, 1900 and 1910. The use of census data is fraught with shortcomings and difficulties. Inaccurate or incomplete recording, poor penmanship, misspelling of names, including phonetic spellings, careless formation of numbers and the omission of data provide

Loading cattle for transportation to the Eastern markets.



ALL PHOTOGRAPHS COURTESY AMH DEPT

many sources of error. Coupled with these sources of error are similar errors in data collection by researchers. Despite these occasions for error, however, the data compiled offer a more specific and detailed profile of turn-of-the-century agriculturalists in the Cowboy State. From several censuses covering population, agriculture, manufacturing, and for the census years 1880, 1900 and 1910, the data for agricultural occupations in five Wyoming communities were compiled. Census takers recorded heads of households by name, non-related roomers by their full names, spouse (when head of household was a married male) and children. In addition, each person had their age, sex, occupation, place of birth, place of birth of parents, literacy and residence recorded. The data were collected for 2,295 individuals. Where the census information was not in figures, numerical codes had to be devised to permit transfer of data to OBSCAN sheets, and finally analysis using the Statistical Analysis System (SAS).

The agriculturalists in this study lived in five Wyoming communities offering a diverse sample of agricultural communities: the Egbert area (southeast Wyoming), a dry farming community of predominantly family farms; Wheatland (southeast), an irrigated sugar beet producing area which increasingly needed agricultural laborers; Buffalo (northeast), a cattle grazing area from territorial days that remains a predominantly cattle producing area at the turn of the century; Basin (north central), a mixed farming and ranching community; and Lovell (north central) a mixed agricultural area developing irrigation farming.

Five different occupational groups of agriculturalists—farmer, stock grower, ranch hand, sheepherder and beet

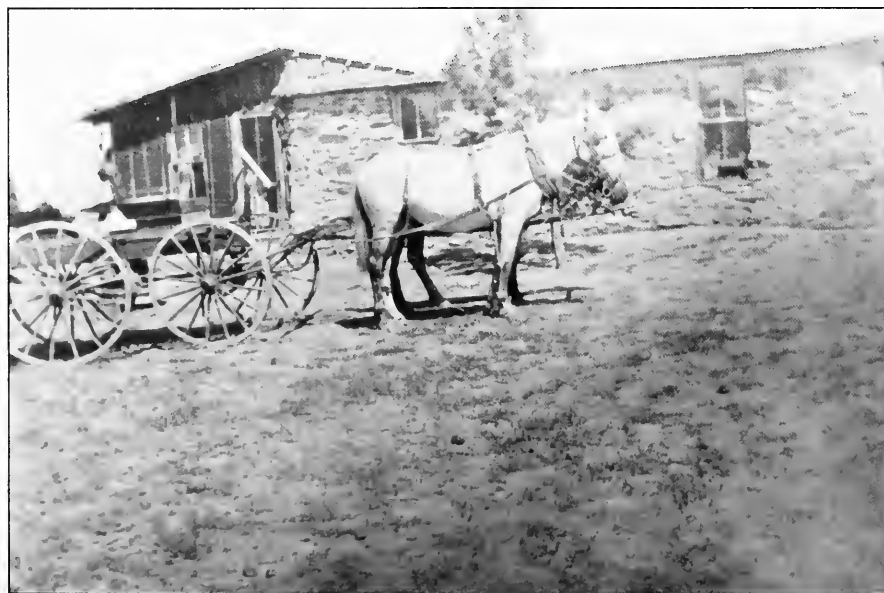
laborer—represented those most frequently cited from a long list of occupations recorded in the Wyoming census documents. The information gleaned from the census provides a cross-section rather than an over time characterization of turn-of-the-century Wyoming agriculturalists. The aim, then, is to compare and contrast the characteristics of these different agricultural groups by variables such as residence, age, immigrant status, birthplace or origin, sex, race, literacy, marital and household status, and housing information, in order to profile turn-of-the-century Wyoming agriculturalists.

Five occupational groups: farmer, stock grower, ranch hand, sheepherder and beet laborer, have been selected for comparison.

TABLE 1
Occupation by Residence

	Basin	Lovell	Buffalo	Wheatland	Egbert
Farmer (521)	10.3 (54)	27.1 (141)	6.9 (36)	40.7 (212)	15.0 (78)
Stock Grower (49)	4.1 (2)	14.3 (7)	67.3 (33)	14.3 (7)	0
Ranch Hand (32)	9.4 (3)	0	15.6 (5)	62.5 (20)	12.5 (4)
Sheepherder (30)	0	23.3 (7)	13.3 (4)	13.3 (4)	50.0 (15)
Beet Laborer (34)	0	0	0	100.0 (34)	0
Total Farm Population	262	664	348	1291	372

The Walter family homesteaded near Upton, Wyoming. This photograph was taken in June, 1917.



Farmers outnumbered the other categories by approximately ten-to-one settling primarily in the increasingly important agricultural communities of Wheatland (40.7 percent) and Lovell (27.1 percent). Stock growers retained their hegemony in Buffalo (67.3 percent) and the importance of stock growing in southeastern Wyoming was shown by the number of ranch hands who lived in Wheatland (62.5 percent); however, the inroads made by sheep raisers was evident in Lovell (23.3 percent) and Egbert (50 percent). All of the beet laborers lived in Wheatland (100 percent) in the 1910 census.

Early Russian-German settlers in the Big Horn Basin offer an example of the difficulties encountered by prospective immigrant settlers and they illustrate the fears of promoters such as G. A. Hart. They immigrated to Wyoming through the influence of less pessimistic promoters than Hart, such as William F. "Buffalo Bill" Cody, who persuaded a group of Russian-German families to settle in the Big Horn Basin at the new settlement of Irma.⁹ The prospective settlers had been recruited in Chicago, after having been told of Wyoming's rich soil and the glowing possibilities for irrigation. But upon arriving at their destination in present-day Park County, they found that the irrigation canal had not been completed, nor had preparations been made for settlement. Eventually, all except one family left Irma. Other German pioneers dug the "Fritz Ditch" from the Big Horn River, using manual labor with shovels and horses pulling graders. These German workers, in addition, subsequently helped complete the Big Horn and Bench Canals.

In 1898, German settlers began to come from western Nebraska as well, having been influenced by promoter Solon Wiley, who extolled the rich soil and abundant irrigation water of the Big Horn Basin. Led by Reverend A. C. Wunderlich, they founded Germania, west of Greybull.¹⁰ The Big Horn Basin Development Company administered this project and provided that, when 90 percent of the canal's carrying capacity was sold, the canal would be turned over to the landowners. By 1908, that condition had been met when 100 percent of the carrying capacity of the canal was sold, but the company retained control of the ditch until the settlers brought suit and won control.¹¹

When the Nebraskans arrived on the Bench, many lived in dugouts during the first winter and then built adobe houses or log cabins. Large families provided a ready labor source. Most often, wives and children worked alongside men.¹² These Germans, who also provided labor for the beet fields around Wheatland and in northern Colorado, venerated hard work as an end in itself. According to Timothy J. Kloberdanz, an anthropologist who has extensively studied German emigration, they often gulped down their food and hurried back into the fields exclaiming, "*Die Arweit schmeckt besser als Esse*" [sic] (Work tastes better than food). Kloberdanz observes that, "only after many seasons of backstraining labor in the sugar beets did even the work-hungry Volga-German admit the truth of

a new proverb: "*Die Riewe sein siess, awer die Arweit is bitter*" [sic] (The beets are sweet, but the work is bitter).¹³

Many promoters who had extolled the virtues of the small diversified family farm in their advertising to encourage settlement of farmers, suggested further that would-be settlers work as laborers in order to get their start. D. Clem Deaver, promoter for the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy Railroad, in fact, recommended that a worker "looking for a position as a farm hand . . . carry with him good letters of recommendation as it would be if he were looking for a position in a bank." Exaggerated as his analogy was, most observers believed that good, sober, industrious farmers would go into this new country where land was yet cheap, and with these qualities, become farm owners.¹⁴ Wyoming's Volga or Russian-German settlers pursued this course to farm ownership (see table 3).

The demands for laborers subsequently, during World War I, however, changed the views of Wyoming farmers toward laborers. Being a farm laborer was, by and large, no longer viewed as a route to farm ownership. Agricultural labor shortages had occurred as early as 1910, when Dr. V. T. Cook noted the difficulty in obtaining laborers.¹⁵ Hard-working German immigrant and Mormon families had supplied a large portion of the labor needs of irrigation farmers. After World War I began in 1914, however, the immigration of Germans ceased.¹⁶ As farmers increased acreage and production of large-scale crops such as sugar beets, which required intensive seasonal labor, Wyoming farmers experienced even greater labor shortages. Enlistments by farmers after America entered the war further exacerbated the labor shortage.¹⁷ With the labor pool severely depleted from 1915 to 1920, farmers looked to other sources of labor. Sugar companies and farmers then found a ready supply of labor among Mexican nationals. Mexicans seemed especially attractive because they could be shipped in and out to meet the needs of farmers and sugar companies, and with this arrangement, they did not compete for acreage. Mexican workers proved so satisfactory that sugar companies, in the immediate post-war years, mounted extensive campaigns to establish Mexican migrant labor in their areas.¹⁸

The census data confirm that recent immigrants did not immediately homestead in early 20th century Wyoming. Most of the settlers who homesteaded in the state had been native born, while most of the beet laborers were immigrants—only 38 percent had been native born compared to 89 percent of farmers, 86 percent of stock growers, 91 percent of cowboys and 77 percent of sheepherders. Local observers pointed out that the best prospect for success for the new settler hinged on the availability of the necessary capital to finance a homestead: indigent settlers had less chance for success. Bert C. Buffum, president of the Wyoming Plant and Feed Breeding Company, for instance, observed that sufficient finances usually spelled success or failure. A homesteader needed enough money to provide a living for two or three years before he could

be certain the land would sustain him. Very often, according to Buffum, men worked one-half the year, in order to develop their homes the other half. Capital investment early on, moreover, should not include "dead stock," or those things which gave no capital return. The first occupancy, for example, should be temporary and cheap. According to Buffum, the three essentials for the new homesteader included "a warm house, though it may be small, a good and convenient water supply, comfortable and sanitary conveniences for waste."¹⁹

The newly arrived farmer to Wyoming faced the problem of supplying the necessities described by Buffum. Prospective settler Clarence A. Keslar, for instance, had read advertising by land companies in the local newspaper in his hometown of Tecumseh, Nebraska, and since his doctor thought a drier climate would be better for his health, set out for Wyoming in August, 1907. He arrived at Luther (later Burns) and lived in a tent with carpet over the dirt floor and bales of straw around the interior to keep out the wind. Keslar hauled water in barrels from a windmill to this homestead. He used buffalo chips for fuel, "though the smoke was not exactly an appetizing aroma."²⁰

The railroads provided the transportation for the 20th century immigrant-farmer since settlement promised to increase railroad traffic. The immigrant usually paid for a railroad car to haul his family and material possessions to the new homestead. Wilber Bowser, for example, arrived at Hillsdale, Wyoming, on October 8, 1908, in an immigrant car from Pennsylvania. The car contained two horses, two cows, a dozen hens, a good supply of meat, canned fruit, furniture, a plow harrow, a wagon and lumber for a ready-made house. For the next five years, Bowser's family hauled water to the house he built, from two miles away.²¹

Some immigrants undoubtedly sought quick wealth. Ted Olson, in his reminiscences titled *Ranch on the Laramie*, described two approaches to cattle ranching which depicted the prevailing attitudes in Wyoming: the organic slow building of a herd, or the scramble for quick profit. Farmers were similarly motivated. Robert Gorman, for instance, emigrated in 1908 from Chariton, Iowa, to a homestead fourteen miles north of Hillsdale. He built a house, fenced his land, and then left for Cripple Creek, Colorado, to work in the Portland Gold Mines. His wife managed four children and the farm in his absence and, thus, faced the hardships of homesteading alone. She used sheep chips for fuel in the summer, gathered by her children, and burned coal in the winter. On wash days, water had to be carried from a boiler to the washboard. Later, Robert Gorman returned and served as a locater hoping to make money by an easier route than farming. He met the immigrant trains and, with horse and buggy or bobsled, transported people to their prospective homesteads.

Even if their motive was not quick wealth, not all arrivals had the advantage of a well-stocked immigrant car, or even transportation for that matter. Claude Hardy and

a friend, Frank Glass, walked all one night in 1907 to reach the federal land office in Cheyenne in order to file on a homestead east of Carpenter, after days of trampling on foot in eastern Laramie County in search of a piece of suitable land for a homestead. And his brother, Judson Hardy, was a stowaway on a Chicago, Burlington and Quincy immigrant freight car.²³

TABLE 2
Occupation by Age

	15-20	21-25	26-30	31-35	36-40	41-45	46-50	51-55
Farmer (521)	3.2%	9.1%	12.9%	13.6%	17.1%	12.7%	12.4%	7.4%
Stock Grower (49)	2.1%	10.5%	16.7%	16.7%	8.4%	18.9%	10.5%	8.4%
Ranch Hand (32)	32.3%	29.0%	6.4%	16.1%	9.6%	3.2%		
Sheepherder (30)	9.9%	36.8%	6.6%	10.0%	6.6%	6.6%	3.3%	6.6%
Beet Laborer (34)	5.8%	11.6%	14.5%	11.7%	23.6%	8.7%	5.8%	

Most of the hopeful arrivals were approaching middle age when they sought to establish themselves in Wyoming agriculture. Table 2 reports the ages of the agriculturalists, and reveals that the majority of farmers and stock growers had a similar age distribution with approximately 70 percent of both groups' members falling between the ages of 26-50 years. As a group, however, beet laborers were younger with approximately 65 percent of this occupational category aged 21-40 years. The youngest groups, ranch hands and sheepherders, had the majority of the members, 83.8 percent and 63.3 percent, respectively, between the ages of 15-35 years. Moreover, approximately 50 percent of both these groups comprised the age grouping of 15-25 years old.

Table 3 reports the birthplaces (bp) of the occupational groups. The states and countries of origin are grouped according to geographical regions and reflect those most often recorded in the census data. (Birthplaces of the fathers and mothers are reported in the same manner in Table 4.) Examining the columns of Table 3, the specific states and country with the largest representation by agriculturalists in Wyoming can be ascertained. The predominant birthplaces of these agriculturalists included Ohio, New York, Germany and England, suggesting that they may have been agricultural laborers in other localities before setting out to be homesteaders in Wyoming.

Farmers, the largest occupational group among agriculturalists in Wyoming, had representatives from all of the geographical areas of the United States, but predominantly from the North Central region of the United States, while their parents originated primarily in the Midwest, North Central and Northeastern sections of the United States, in addition to Germany and England. The stock growers' origins were similar to those of the farmers.

TABLE 3
Occupation by Birthplace

	Midwest					West		East		Foreign						
	Illinois	Indiana	Iowa	Missouri	Ohio	Utah	Nebraska	New York	Pennsylvania	Germany	Russia/Germany	England	Ireland	Scotland	France	Sweden
Farmer (521)																
Stock Grower (49)																
Ranch Hand (32)																
Sheepherder (30)																
Beet Laborer (34)																

Ranch hands, along with their fathers and mothers, were born for the most part in the Northeastern section of the United States, although Illinois, Nebraska and Sweden were birthplaces frequently cited. Sheepherders, in contrast, came from all the major regions, plus Germany and England, while their parents were mostly foreign born

(Germany, England, Scotland). Finally, beet laborers and their parents cited Germany or Russia/Germany as their birthplace, with the distinction that fewer had been born in Missouri and Nebraska. Beet laborers were the only group to have a majority of foreign born members with large numbers from Germany and Russia.

TABLE 4
Father's birthplace (Fbp) and Mother's birthplace (Mbp) by place of origin

	Midwest					West		East		Foreign						
	Illinois	Indiana	Iowa	Missouri	Ohio	Utah	Nebraska	New York	Pennsylvania	Germany	Russia/Germany	England	Ireland	Scotland	France	Sweden
Farmer (521) Fbp																
Mbp																
Stock Grower (49) Fbp																
Mbp																
Ranch Hand (32) Fbp																
Mbp																
Sheepherder (30) Fbp																
Mbp																
Beet Laborer (34) Fbp																
Mbp																



Two sheepherders tend to their flock in 1908.

TABLE 5
Occupation by Sex, Race and Literacy

	% Male	% White	% Literate
Farmer (521)	97	78	78
Stock Grower (49)	98	92	92
Ranch Hand (32)	94	47	47
Sheepherder (30)	100	80	77
Beet Laborer (34)	97	100	97

Few women represented heads of households in these occupational groups, between 94 percent and 100 percent were male. Fourteen women reported as their occupation farmer, one as stock grower, two as ranch hand and one as beet laborer.

The majority of the male members of these occupational groups were white (between 78 and 100 percent), with the exception of ranch hands who were 53 percent nonwhite. The social or ethnic categories of this group cannot be specified since only the categories of white/nonwhite were used in the census during this period. In addition, most of these agriculturalists were literate (between 77 and 97 percent), with the exception again of ranch hands who were only 47 percent literate.

Variables related to family life reveal the greatest differences among these agriculturalists. For instance, ex-

amining the variables, marital and household status, Table 6 indicates that most of the farmers (77.2 percent), stock growers (79.5 percent) and beet laborers (73.5 percent) were married, while the ranch hands (90.3 percent) and sheepherders (66.7 percent) were predominantly single. Furthermore, these two groups reported that between 80 percent and 99 percent had only one person in their household. So, they were not only single but also lived alone.

TABLE 6
Occupation by Marital Status and Size of Household

	% Married	% Single	% Widowed	Modal # Household
Farmer (521)	72.2	17.0	5.4	3, 4, 5
Stock Grower (49)	79.5	18.2	2.3	3
Ranch Hand (32)	6.5	90.3	3.2	1
Sheepherder (30)	26.7	66.7	6.7	1
Beet Laborer (34)	73.5	23.5	2.9	4, 5

Among the three married categories, farmers were the only ones to have reported a number of children. The modal category for number of children was two, while the modal category for the number of children dead was two.

The other two married groups, stock growers and beet laborers, reported three to five people living in their households as did the farmers, but no children living or dead. One explanation for this apparent incongruity is that these young married couples lived in some form of extended family arrangement.²⁴

TABLE 7
Occupation by Residential Status

	Farm %	House %	Tent %	Ranch %	Own %	Rent %	No Debt %	Mortgaged %
Farmer (521)	74.7	9.0	16.3		73.6	26.4	77.0	23.0
Stock Grower (49)	27.8	66.7	2.8	2.8	85.3	14.7	80.0	20.0
Ranch Hand (32)		100.0			66.7	33.3	NA	NA
Sheepherder (30)	42.9	57.1			66.7	33.3	75.0	25.0
Beet Laborer (34)	4.0	96.0			16.7	83.3	NA	NA

The final variables in this demographic description of turn-of-the-century Wyoming agriculturalists are type of residence, whether the residence was owned or rented, and if owned, whether or not the residence was owned free of debt. This study substantiated long accepted

generalizations concerning western agriculturalists, but it also produced evidence to challenge a few myths. As reported in Table 7, turn-of-the-century Wyoming farmers tended to own clear their farms; 73.6 percent owned their farms; 77 percent had no debt on their farms. Stock growers were more likely to live in a house (66.7 percent), to own that house (85.3 percent) and to have no mortgage (80 percent). However, while most cowboys were indeed young and single, a surprisingly high percentage (66.7 percent) owned their residences (probably due to the fact that this study concentrated on recording of data from five towns). Information regarding their debt status was not available. Sheepherders, moreover, were just as likely to live on a farm (42.9 percent) as in a house (57.1 percent), and they owned (66.7 percent) free of debt (75 percent) both types of residences. Beet laborers, on the other hand, comprised the only occupational group to have reported a majority of renters (83.3 percent), of whom (96 percent) lived in houses. Again, the fact that the beet laborers represented the newest settlers in the area and a distinctive socioeconomic group seeking the financial basis for homesteading, coupled with the fact that a majority had immigrated between 1900 and 1919, helps explain why so few owned their own homes at the time of the last census (1910).

The census data reveal the boom in settlement Wyoming experienced in the first decade of the 20th century. The number of farms and ranches increased from 6,095 in 1900 to 10,987 in 1910, and the number of people engaged



J. E. Stimson photographed these beet laborers in 1907.

in general crop agriculture increased from 8,299 in 1900 to 15,631 in 1910. During this boom, in 1907, W. T. Adams, Register of Public Lands, wrote to Governor B. B. Brooks and reported that 148 homestead entries had been filed that year—the average entries per year from 1900 through 1906 had amounted to only 32.8 entries. A similar trend developed in land sales—123 land holdings had been sold in 1907, with the average for the previous seven years at only 5.6 sales per year. The boom grew in strength over the next two years.²⁵ Brooks later proudly recalled in his memoirs that “agricultural interests were chiefly responsible for the influx of approximately fifteen thousand new settlers in Wyoming in 1909.”²⁶

Wyoming historian T. A. Larson concludes that the inroads of farmers certainly annoyed many stock raisers. And he paradoxically notes that the total acreage taken up by farmers in Wyoming was less than 3 percent of the state’s total by 1910 with the consequence that “farmers distressed the livestock men more than the acreages and percentages suggest.” The reasons for the distress, according to Larson, included the perceived threat to the stock raiser’s hegemony over grazing land and watering places by farmers; and the characterization of settlers as perpetrators of rustling and mavericking.²⁷ Economic motives must have been the basis for cattlemen’s fears, since census data showed no marked

differences in the characteristics of farmers and stock growers regarding origins, age, literacy, marital status or ownership of residence. The great number of settlers, however, did represent a threat to Wyoming stockmen. Not only would these agriculturalists compete for grazing land and watering places, but they challenged the basis of Wyoming agriculture by threatening to supplant the grazing industry with crop agriculture.

In 1910, for instance, the University of Wyoming’s eminent botanist, Aven Nelson, insightfully surveyed the early years of Wyoming agriculture, when the stock interests were paramount and when the flocks and herds were largely in the hands of non-resident owners who paid little attention to anything beyond the stockraising industry. He concluded that:

these years of indifference was the broad casting of the opinion that soil and climate were inimical to the growth of flowers and fruits . . . Whether this early disparagement was premeditated and ‘with malice aforethought’, as is sometimes asserted, in order that the would-be home-maker might be dissuaded from obstructing the open range, it is true that real homemaking has had most of its development during the last two decades.²⁸

Settlers intent on farming in Wyoming, despite the hardships and antipathy of cattlemen, had indeed transformed Wyoming’s agricultural and demographic profile.



Cowboys at home on the range.

It remained to be seen if Wyoming's farmers and farmer laborers could sustain the transformation of the Cowboy State into a region of small, diversified, family owned farms.

WILLIAM L. HEWITT received a Ph.D. in History from the University of Wyoming and presently is a specialist in American and Third World History at Briar Cliff College, Sioux City, Iowa.

VICKI PAGE received her doctorate degree in sociology from the University of Oklahoma in 1984. She, then, became assistant professor of sociology at Briar Cliff College in Sioux City, Iowa. Presently, Dr. Page is teaching at the University of Texas at Dallas.

-
- Frederick Jackson Turner, *The Frontier in American History* (Huntington, New York: Robert E. Krieger Publishing Co., 1976 [1920]), *passim*.
 - George Rogers Taylor, ed., *The Turner Thesis Covering the Role of the Frontier in American History*, Third Ed. (New York: D. C. Heath and Company, 1972), p. 10.
 - Bruce Noble, "The Quest for Settlement in Early Wyoming," *Annals of Wyoming* 55 (Fall 1983): 19-24.
 - E. M. Saltiel and George Barnett (compilers), *History and Business Directory of Cheyenne and Guide to the Mining Regions of the Rocky Mountains* (Cheyenne, Wyoming: L. B. Joseph, Bookseller and Publisher, 1868), p. 105.
 - John Clay, *My Life on the Range* (New York: Antiquarian Press Ltd., 1961 [1924]), p. 254.
 - G. A. Hart to L. W. Wakelay, April 20, 1916. Val Kuska Collection, Box 372, Nebraska State Historical Society (NSHS), Lincoln.
 - Walter Prescott Webb, *The Great Plains* (New York: Grosset Dunlap, 1931), p. 240.
 - Edward Everett Dale, "The Cow Country in Transition," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 24 (June 1937): 19.
 - Gordon O. Hendrickson, *Peopling The High Plains: Wyoming's European Heritage* (Cheyenne: Wyoming State Archives and Historical Department, 1977), p. 37; Frances Birkhead Beard, *Wyoming From Territorial Days to the Present* (New York: The American Historical Society, Inc., 1933), Vol. III, pp. 149-50; T. A. Larson, *History of Wyoming*, Second Ed. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1978), p. 306.
 - Hendrickson, *Peopling The High Plains*, p. 41; Paul Frison, *Calendar of Change* (Worland, Wyoming: Serlkay, Inc., 1975), pp. 117-127.
 - Charles Lindsay, *The Big Horn Basin* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1932) p. 191.
 - Jonathan Davis Collection, MSS 791, Wyoming State Archives, Museums and Historical Department, Cheyenne, Wyoming (hereafter referred to as AMH); Hendrickson, *Peopling The High Plains*, p. 45.
 - Timothy J. Kloberdanz, "Introduction" in Hope Williams Sykes, *Second Hoeing* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1935), p. xvii.
 - Cheyenne State Leader*, April 3, 1911; D. Clem Deaver, "Farm Hands Wanted in the Big Horn Basin and Yellowstone Valley," March 29, 1913. Val Kuska Collection, Box 200, NSHS. Deaver wrote to Charles G. Baird on October 31, 1913, that "millions of dollars could be so loaned on good security along our line, and would result in keeping people on the farm, that are now on farms, and, also, attracting people from cities to the farms." Kuska Collection, Box 369, NSHS.
 - "An Easterner on Dry Farming," *Wyoming Industrial Journal* (October 1910): 6.
 - Lawrence A. Cardoso, *Mexican Emigration To The United States 1897-1931: Socio-Economic Patterns* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1980), pp. 45-47.
 - Leonard J. Arrington, *Beet Sugar in the West: A History of the Utah-Idaho Sugar Company, 1891-1966* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1966), p. 90.
 - Augustine Redwine, "Lovell's Mexican Colony," *Annals of Wyoming* 51 (Fall 1979): 27; Cardoso, *Mexican Emigration*, pp. 86-87.
 - Wyoming Industrial Journal* XI (February 1910): 3. The pictures in this series of articles included the most successful and productive of farms and ranches in Wyoming.
 - Calico Hill* (Cheyenne, Wyoming: Pioneer Publishing Company, 1973), told by Charles F. Keslar, pp. 49-60.
 - Ibid.*, told by Wilber Bowser, p. 15.
 - Ted Olson, *Ranch on The Laramie* (Boston, Massachusetts: Little, Brown, 1973), p. 128.
 - Calico Hill*, told by Gladys Gorman Spatz, pp. 38-40.
 - Scott G. McNall and Sally Allen McNall, *Plains Families Exploring Sociology Through Social History* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1983), p. 19. These authors assert that the incidence of extended family settlement to be unusual on the Kansas frontier.
 - W. T. Adams, Register to B. B. Brooks (1909), B. B. Brooks Papers, AMH.
 - Bryant B. Brooks, *Memoirs of Bryant B. Brooks: Cowboy, Trapper, Lumberman, Stockman, Oilman, Banker, and Governor of Wyoming* (Glendale, California: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1939), p. 229.
 - Larson, *History of Wyoming*, p. 365.
 - Aven Nelson, "Shade and Ornamental Trees," *The Wyoming Industrial Journal* (March 1910): 8. See: Roger L. Williams, *Aven Nelson of Wyoming* (Boulder: Colorado Associated University Press, 1984).

Through the Lens of J. E. Stimson — Past and Present



ALL STIMSON PHOTOGRAPHS COURTESY AMH DEPT

by Michael A. Amundson



ALL COURTESY THE AUTHOR

J. E. Stimson captured a typical Cheyenne day in this 1908 photograph (left) of Sixteenth Street. Today many of the buildings remain, including the Atlas Theatre (above).

Few early photographers of Wyoming and the West can rival Joseph E. Stimson. This Cheyenne-based photographer criss-crossed the state between 1890 and 1952, producing more than 7,000 photographic images of towns and scenes. In spite of such quantity, the quality of his work was not compromised. Stimson's work is unique as a visual cross section of Wyoming as it emerged from its frontier status.¹ As Wyoming pushes toward the end of the 20th century, the pioneer work of Stimson deserves even more of our respect and recognition. It was with that in mind that during the summer of 1987, I retraced Stimson's photographic path across southern Wyoming.

The author wishes to thank the UW College of Arts and Sciences for presenting him the Kuehn Award for independent study during the summer of 1987.

My goal was to photograph scenes today from the very same spots that Stimson had taken them some 70 years ago. Of course, I had to be selective. I could not possibly reproduce the entire collection. Therefore, I concentrated on the towns along the Union Pacific. Stimson worked for the Union Pacific as a photographer from 1902-1910. He traveled the entire line taking pictures of the towns and stations along the way. He also journeyed up and down the spurs that connected remote areas of Wyoming to the Union Pacific.² I focused my camera on this theme: the rephotography of towns and cities along the Union Pacific.

Rephotography is a process of taking successive photographs of the same scene. Simply put, it is before-and-after photography. For a medical doctor, the before and after x-rays of a broken arm are an example of rephotography. A family portrait taken throughout the years is another example. This is not a new process. Mark Klett rephotographed landscapes originally taken by William Henry Jackson and Timothy O'Sullivan.³ Bill Ganzel used rephotography to follow the Farm Securities Administration photographers of the 1930s.⁴ Recently, Kendall Johnson rephotographed pictures taken by William Henry Jackson to do a comparative range study of Wyoming today.⁵ The difference is that many of these rephotographic projects looked at how the natural environment has changed in the West. I intended to look to see how the man-made, or "built," environment has survived in Wyoming since Stimson's day.

I chose to study Wyoming's built environment because Stimson provided a detailed look at Wyoming towns around the turn of the century.⁶ He captured Wyoming in a transition. The state was beginning to develop industry and Stimson tried to showcase the best that Wyoming had to offer. Historian T. A. Larson called this decade one of "optimism, belief in progress, the work ethic, and eagerness in economic development as never before nor since."⁷ Stimson photographed this eagerness. Author Virginia Huidekoper said that "grand perspectives on man's accomplishments characterized Stimson's work."⁸

My procedure was simple. First, I examined all 7,526 of Stimson's contact prints located in the photographic section of the Wyoming State Archives, Museums and Historical Department in Cheyenne. I eliminated photographs that were not taken along the Union Pacific. I made judgments of the rephotographic possibility. Once a scene was selected, it was often necessary to include several Stimson photographs of the same scene because I did not know what angle would be available today. After narrowing the selection to approximately 200, I made photocopies of all the prints. These copies would be easier and cheaper to use in the field than actual prints.

I borrowed the equipment from the University of Wyoming Journalism Department. All of the photographs were taken with a 4x5 Graflex camera, with a normal

135mm lens and a 90mm wide angle lens, and using 400 ISO black and white film.

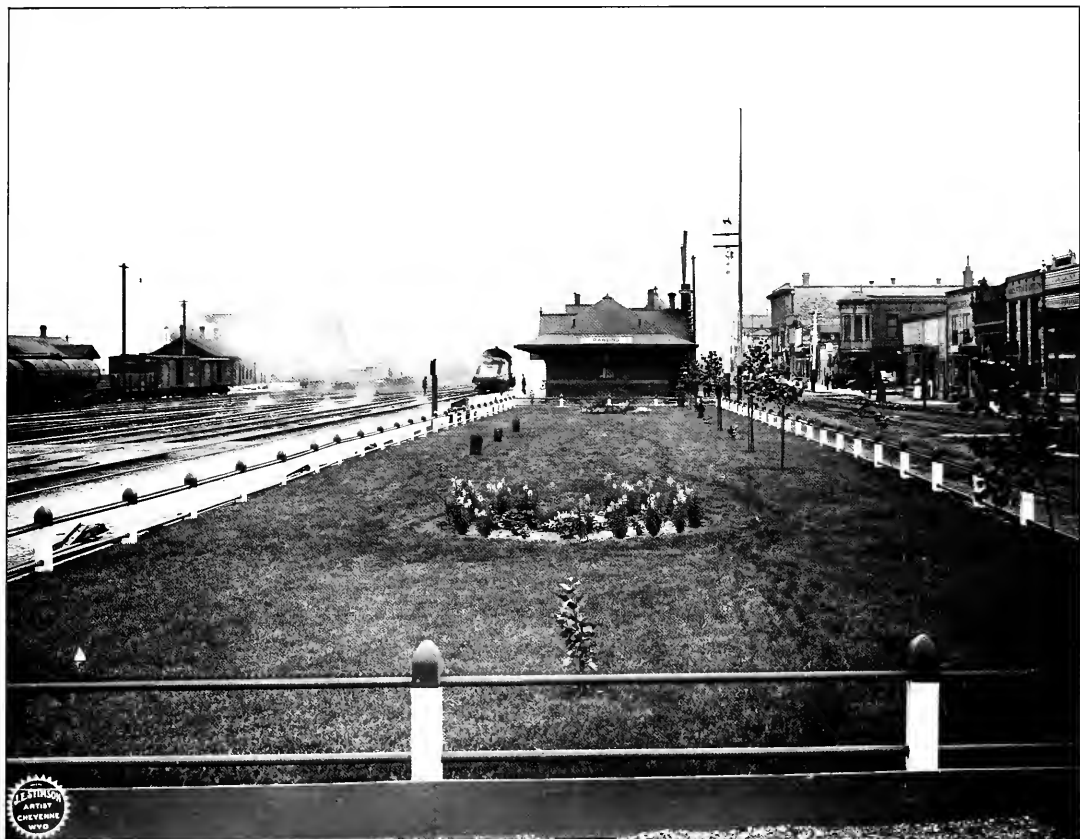
Once I located the site of Stimson's original photograph, I set up my camera. After studying the copy print, I moved the camera back and forth to find the same view. I took several photographs to be positive of the image. All of the pictures were developed and printed at the University's darkroom. When finished, duplicate photographs had been taken at these Wyoming sites: Ft. Laramie, Hartville, Sunrise, Cheyenne, Hecla, Granite Springs Reservoir, Dale Creek Bridge, Laramie, Saratoga, Encampment, Walcott, Rawlins, Rock Springs, Green River, Atlantic City, South Pass City, Kemmerer, Diamondville, Cokeville and Evanston.

When the two photographs are viewed together, they make a starting and ending point in Wyoming history. Side by side, the pair suggest the development and dissolution that has occurred since Stimson photographed the sites so many years ago.⁹

The most obvious conclusion is that the railroad's role in the state has declined in the last 70 years. The automobile, bus and airplane have drawn passengers away from the railroad. Likewise, the trucking industry has challenged the railroads for freight service.¹⁰ This is also evident in the fact that some of the railroad towns that Stimson photographed either no longer exist or are on their last legs. The station at Walcott, for instance, was the largest shipping station between Ogden and Omaha during the first decade of the century.¹¹ Today, the Union Pacific station is gone and the buildings have been sold. Another finding is the absence of the many well-cared-for parks that once were adjacent to the stations. These parks were often the first impression visitors received of a town.¹² Stimson photographed the parks at Cheyenne, Laramie, Rawlins and Green River. Today, these parks are gone, replaced by dusty parking lots and open spaces.

Also evident is the decline of the traditional downtown. This follows the decline of the passenger train and the depot park. Highways and subdivisions have decentralized towns. With this movement away from the center of town, business also has moved. The photograph of Green River shows that many of the businesses are gone and the buildings boarded.

In truth, a comparison of Wyoming towns today with the earlier age that Stimson photographed would reveal that the built environment looked better then. But what can we expect? Technology has changed American society so much since Stimson's time. He photographed Wyoming before the rise of the radio, television and automobile. The easiest way to understand the change is to say simply that what Stimson photographed, and promoted—the best that Wyoming had to offer—has shifted. My project concentrated on documenting what has survived from Stimson's Wyoming, not the best that Wyoming now has to offer.



Not much remains of the park next to the Rawlins Depot which Stimson photographed, nor much of Front Street.



If Stimson were taking pictures today, there would be many more technological marvels to photograph. It would not be the same things that he photographed in 1910, but I would not expect that. By looking at the state through the same eyes that Stimson did, one can see that Wyoming has changed in many ways, and yet remains the same.

MICHAEL A. AMUNDSON is an undergraduate student at the University of Wyoming majoring in history and journalism. He also is a member of the UW men's basketball team and a member of the 1988 Speaker's Bureau of the Wyoming Council for the Humanities.

1. Mark Junge, *J. E. Stimson: Photographer of the West* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1985), p. 3.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 6.
3. Mark Klett, *Second View: The Rephotographic Survey Project* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1984).
4. Bill Ganzel, *Dust Bow Descent* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1984).
5. Kendall Johnson, *Rangelands Through Time* (Laramie: University of Wyoming Agriculture Experiment Station, 1987).
6. For a complete history of Wyoming written during Stimson's early career, see I. S. Bartlett, *History of Wyoming: Volume One* (Chicago: S. J. Clarke Publishing Company, 1918). The book not only provides a detailed history of the state but also gives brief descriptions and pictures of many Wyoming towns and cities in 1915.
7. Junge, *J. E. Stimson*, p. x.
8. Virginia Huidekoper, *Wyoming in the Eye of Man* (Cody, Wyoming: Sage Publishing Co. Inc., 1983), p. 72.
9. Klett, *Second View*, p. 5.
10. John R. Stilgoe, *Metropolitan Corridor* (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1983), p. 227.
11. *Wyoming: A Guide to Its History, Highways and People* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1941), p. 238.
12. John F. Stover, *The Life and Decline of the American Railroad* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970), pp. 132-149.

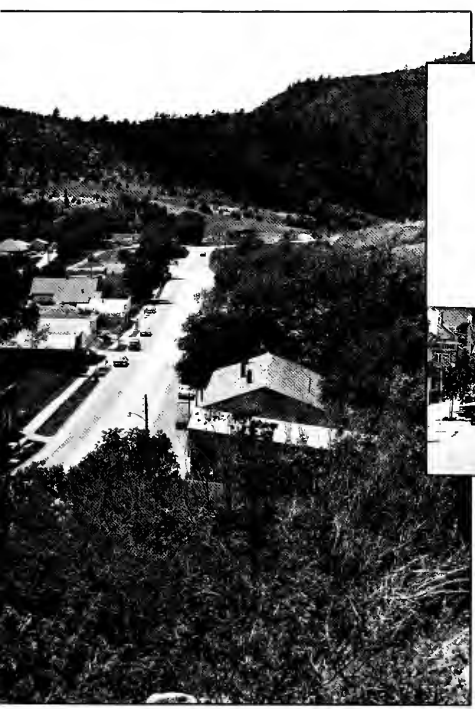


Stimson photographed Hartville (looking west) in 1905. Note the three windowed building remains on the left.





The Blyth and Fargo store remains from Stimson's 1905 photograph (above) of Evanston. Also notice the other buildings on that side of the street still standing.







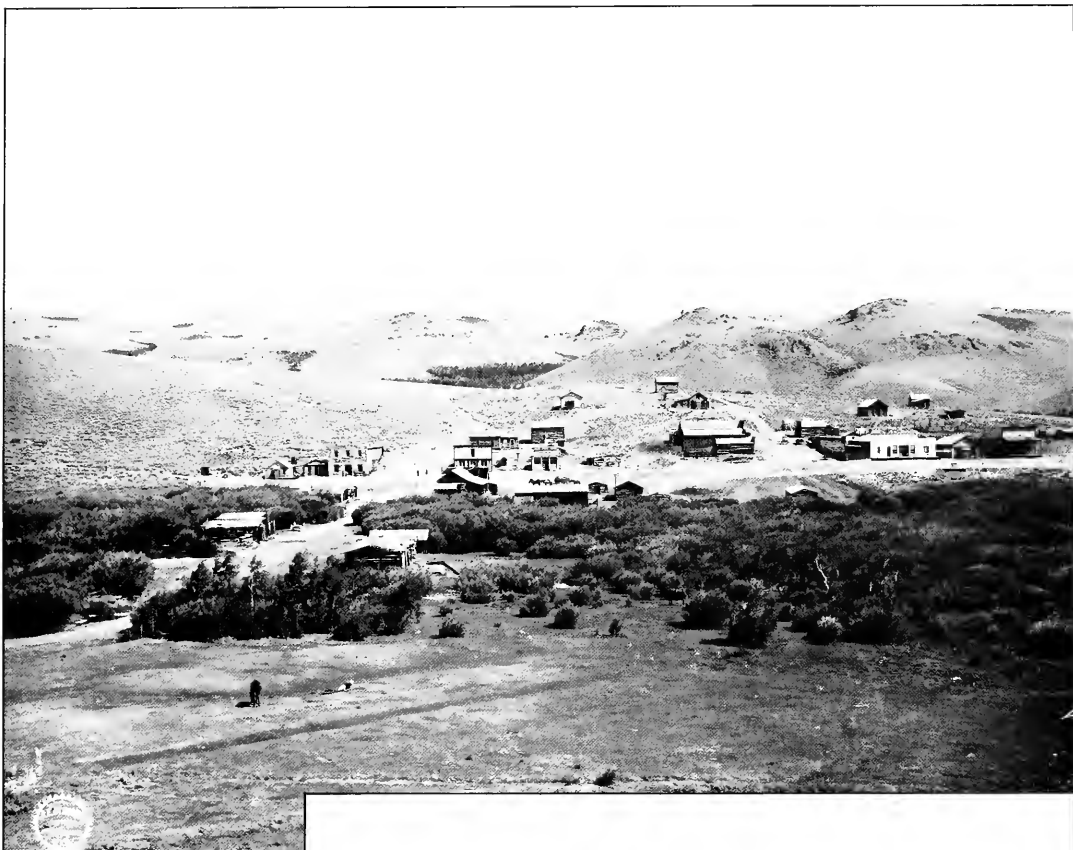
This 1908 photograph (below) shows an outing on Granite Springs Reservoir in what is now Curt Gowdy State Park. Notice the same formations and even some of the same trees in the current scene (left). The water level is lower today.





Many of the steeply sloped roofed miners' cabins remain in Diamondville from this 1903 view (below) looking north. Notice the Mountain Trading Company building on the right side of the street can also be seen today. Also note the growth of Kemmerer on the back hill.





This view of Atlantic City, looking north, was taken in 1903 (above). The stone McAuley store, minus the top floor, still stands on the left. To the right is the Atlantic City Mercantile store.





This 1899 photograph (above) shows the old Union Pacific park in Green River City. Note that many of the buildings below Citadel Rock remain today. Unfortunately, the gazebo and park are gone.



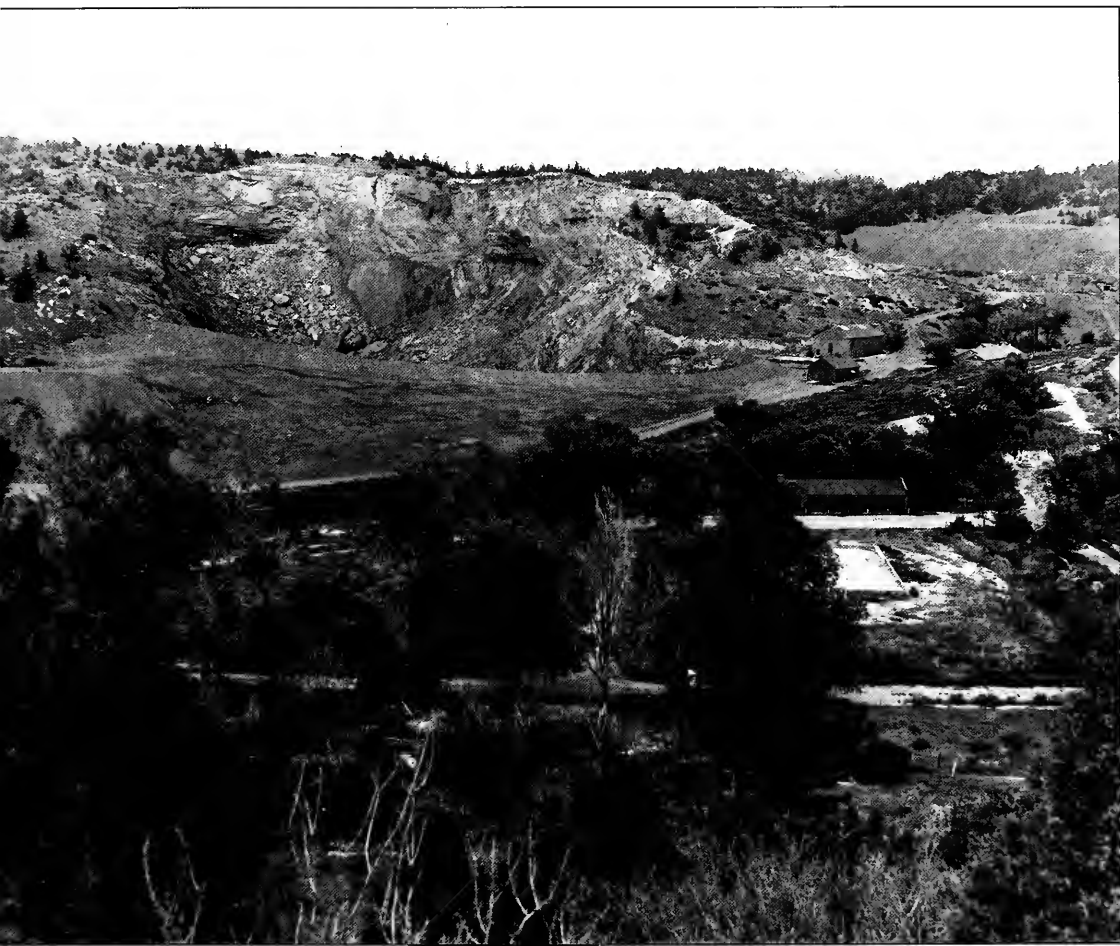


The main street in Saratoga remains much the same as when Stimson photographed it in 1907. The Wolf Hotel opened in 1894 and is still operating today. The street lamp may have been moved, but many of the buildings remain.





Only three buildings survive from 1905 when Stimson photographed Sunrise. This view is looking north from the site of the water towers. Notice the "Glory Hole," left.



Heart Mountain Recollections

Almost immediately after the Japanese bombed Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, tensions mounted against the Japanese populace living in the United States. There were unfounded and unproven rumors circulating that these people would side with Japan in its war effort. Even though there was no evidence substantiating this belief, the United States government took action against possible subversives, "just in case."

On February 19, 1942, just two and a half months after the surprise attack, President Franklin D. Roosevelt signed into law Executive Order #9066. Basically, this order stated that persons who could be considered a threat against the government would be placed in restricted areas. Although the order did not name one specific group, the Japanese in the country were the only ones affected by it.

The War Relocation Authority made plans to relocate the Japanese, particularly those persons living on the West Coast, to other parts of the country. Several states, including Wyoming, were selected as "host states" to house the displaced Japanese. Wyoming's camp was built in Park County between Powell and Cody and was named the Heart Mountain Relocation Center.

Construction began on the Heart Mountain camp June, 1942, and it was operational by August of that year. At its peak, nearly 11,000 persons occupied the camp with its approximately 470 tar paper barracks. The camp closed November, 1945.

Editor's Note—The following are excerpts from oral history interviews that William (Bill) K. Hosokawa has given regarding his experiences at the Heart Mountain Japanese Relocation Center during World War II. The tapes and transcripts of these interviews can be found in the oral history collection of the Wyoming State Archives, Museums and Historical Department.

It's very hard to talk about Heart Mountain itself without going into something of the background that made this sort of thing possible, and that goes back a long, long way and, I don't know whether we want to get into that right now. Well let's do it very briefly . . . The Japanese began to come to this country right about the turn of the century. They were among the latest, the last of the immigrant waves, and there really wasn't, what you might call, a wave. They numbered only in the thousands whereas the immigrants from Europe numbered in the tens of thousands. The main difference was that they came eastwards across the Pacific and landed on the West Coast whereas immigrants from Europe landed on the East Coast. The Japanese inherited the jobs as well as the prejudices that the Chinese had encountered a generation earlier. The Japanese lived primarily on the West Coast in California, Oregon and Washington. They did all the things that needed to be done by unskilled labor to begin with and gradually they began to establish themselves. They got land and started to farm. They went into the cities and opened up little grocery stores, restaurants, doing all the menial kind of things that they could do in the absence of knowledge of the English language and American customs. These were the immigrants, and in time, some of them went back to the old country and married and others had brides sent over from the old country and they settled down into established families. And, people of my generation came along. I was born in 1915 so I am one of the older group of the American-born Japanese-Americans. We were American citizens by birth. My parents were denied citizenship by the laws of the United States and I won't go into that at this time. But, we went to the public schools, learned to speak English and quickly adopted the American heritage as our own. So we grew up saluting the Stars and Stripes and feeling like this was indeed our country. At the time of the attack on Pearl Harbor in 1941, the average age of the American-born Japanese-American was about 18 years. His parents were in their 50s on an average and so there was a great generation gap between the American-born generation and the foreign-born generation.

Those of us that were American-born were shocked

and stunned and outraged that anything like this would happen, our parents, of course, were also stunned. I think some of them had been sympathizing with Japan in their troubles with China before that, well to be more accurate, yes indeed they did sympathize with Japan in the same way that Italian-Americans were sympathizing with Mussolini. The German-Americans were sympathizing with what Hitler was doing, but after the attack on Pearl Harbor when the United States was bombed by the Japanese, it was a brand new ballgame. And, these older Japanese who were citizens of Japan who could not become citizens of the United States, suddenly realized how deep their affection was for this country.

In the days that immediately followed the attack on Pearl Harbor there were statements from public officials, newspaper people, newspaper editorial writers who said these people had been in our midst for many, many years and there is no need to blame them for what happened at Pearl Harbor. Let us not forget what we did to the Germans in World War I, let's not have that sort of thing again. But gradually the hysteria began to build up and about a

month or six weeks after the attack on Pearl Harbor, we began to hear people say . . . "Well look at these, these Japs in our midst, we don't know what they are thinking, we don't know where their loyalties lie, look what they did to us at Pearl Harbor. We had better do something about getting rid of these people from the West Coast." And, this built up and built up and there were very few public officials who had the courage to stand up and say . . . Now wait a minute, let's take another look . . . and the military had been caught with its pants down in Hawaii and they didn't want anything more to happen on the West Coast. They were naturally, very, very nervous, and to make a long story short, in time the military, goaded on primarily by politicians, persuaded the President of the United States to sign what was called, "Executive Order 9066" which gave permission to the military to round up anybody they figured was a potential danger to the safety of the country. And, the military issued a regulation saying . . . "All persons of Japanese ancestry must go into camps . . ." It was strictly on a racial basis, there was no effort to segregate the sheep from the goats.



If you happened to be of Japanese blood and you lived on the West Coast it didn't matter whether you were charged with anything, you were never accused of anything, you were never brought to trial, all the civil liberties that we had come to respect during the period of our generation were suspended strictly on a racial basis. There were approximately 110,000 Japanese-Americans on the West Coast and these were the people who were evacuated first into temporary assembly centers and then later into the semi-permanent camps, like the one up at Heart Mountain.

There were a great many people, not only among the Japanese-Americans, but church people, professors, a few very courageous political leaders who said . . . "Let's wait a minute, let's not get excited about this . . ." The Japanese-Americans themselves were saying . . . "Look we are American citizens, we are loyal to this country, you can't do this to us," but our voices were very seldom heard as the military, backed by the politicians, pushed the effort to get the evacuation under way. One of the things that the government said to us was, . . . "this is to be your contribution to the war effort, you can help us win the war by accepting this sort of treatment." Now we didn't buy this entirely, but at least it helped a little to ease the sting of being discriminated against in this manner, and then once the shock wore off, then there was a great many things to do. People who had businesses had to leave them in someone's hands, get rid of those businesses. Sell their homes, sell their cars, arrange to store their furniture. Farmers out on the West Coast were being encouraged to continue with their planting and farming in the spring of 1942, at the same time they knew they were going to be evacuated and they would lose their farms. So everybody kept very busy and there was little time to sit down and feel sorry for ourselves.

Now I don't know how well you know the Heart Mountain story but this was a camp set up on the bench lands about midway between Powell and Cody. It was roughly an area a mile square. It was surrounded by barbed wire. There were watch towers at the corners, with floodlights, manned by United States troops with loaded guns. And, inside the areas lived approximately 10,000 men, women and children. Their homes were barracks covered with tar paper. They were fed in central halls. There was no running water in the barracks so you had to go to a central sanitation building for your needs and, these people had only one thing in common, they were of Japanese ancestry.

The Heart Mountain area was Bureau of Reclamation Land or perhaps it was BLM. There was water available and it was fairly isolated, but it was nothing but sagebrush flats at the time. They hired anybody who could swing a hammer in this area and they began to put up these temporary barracks, which were about 120 feet long and these were divided up into six rooms which were given the euphemistic name of apartments. You had to install a water

system, sewerage system, you had to bring in power, build a hospital, an administration office, build kitchens, put in barbed wire and put in guard towers. It took a good many months to get this done, the camp was not anywhere near complete at the time when the first evacuees began to come in.

If you had four children and Poppa and Momma, there was six of you in this one room, fifteen feet by twenty feet. They tried to maintain a certain amount of privacy by hanging drapes and that sort of thing, but there is a limit to that.

Eventually we established a canteen type of a cooperative that provided us with things that we couldn't get through the government. Most of us had work to do, some people acted as an internal security force, some as firemen, some worked on the farm, many of them worked on the irrigation ditch crew, others worked in the kitchen, cooked, others were waitresses and waiters, most of us worked and we were paid \$12-\$16 and \$19 a month. The doctors who worked in the hospital, they were paid \$19 and they worked shoulder to shoulder with caucasian doctors who were getting full civil service pay. We had some people who were teachers and they were paid \$16 a month plus room, such as it were.

The hospital was well run, and it was well patronized because there was a good deal of illness. Many of these people were elderly and they were not used to this sort of frontier pioneering type of life, Wyoming's winter was very harsh. We had a cemetery and we had funerals, and as I understand it, the remains were exhumed after the camp was closed and shipped back to the West Coast or where ever. There were a good many problems. One of course, caused by the breakdown of the family system. Poppa was no longer the source of food and shelter and spending money. He was in the camp just like anybody else and he could exercise a rather limited control over his family so it was natural for youngsters to run around in gangs and we had a juvenile delinquency problem.

Every once in a while we would get red meat. One of the principal items that we got was listed on the official invoices as "edible offal," this included beef hearts, pork hearts, liver—liver is fine but when you get it four to five times a week it gets pretty awful. Now it was not unusual for a little toddler to have for dinner, wieners, sauerkraut, rice and beans at the same time. Children had milk, milk was limited to the children. Fresh produce was pretty hard to come by. The camps in the southern parts of the United States would grow a great deal of produce and these were distributed to other camps. I think, my recollection is, we farmed over a thousand acres right here at Heart Mountain, some of it was green produce much of it was corn and fodder for the hog raising and cattle programs.

At the same time there were 128,000 persons of Japanese descent in the United States, and there were ten of these camps housing a total of 110,000. Those who lived in California and the eastern portions of Oregon and Washington were the ones who were taken from their

homes and sent to the inland camps as a measure of military necessity.

You may recall from your days when you used to study civics, America used to be called the "great melting pot" and people from all parts of the world came in and they were dumped into the great American pot and they were boiled up. Eventually the American people became a homogeneous mass. Everyone was melted together. And then we discovered that this really wasn't true. There were elements that never did melt, the blacks, the browns, the orientals. And so the new concept is not of a melting pot but of a stew pot where you have the various elements that go in and have retained their identity. The carrots and the onions and the meat and the potatoes, and you can see them and they are different. But, they all blend together and produce a wonderful flavor. That is the American spirit.

Bill Hosokawa was born in Seattle, Washington, January 30, 1915. He is the son of Setsugo and Kimiyo Hosokawa, Japanese immigrants from Hiroshima.

Bill Hosokawa attended public schools in the Seattle area and entered the University of Washington in 1933, graduating with a Bachelor's degree in 1937. In August, 1938, he married Alice Tokuko Miyake. They are the parents of four children, two boys and two girls.

During the years following graduation from college, Hosokawa worked on English language newspapers in Singapore and Shanghai. He returned to the United States just five weeks before the Japanese surprise attack on Pearl Harbor. He arrived at Heart Mountain Relocation Center during August, 1942.

He remained at Heart Mountain for fourteen months where he edited the camp's newspaper, the Heart Mountain Sentinel. In 1943, Hosokawa joined the staff of the Des Moines Register and remained until 1946 when he went to work for the Denver Post. He retired from the Post in 1983. During his tenure with the Denver newspaper, he held a variety of positions, including editor of the Empire Magazine. A prolific writer, he has written several books, including Nisei: The Quiet Americans. Bill Hosokawa still lives in Denver, Colorado.



Bill Hosokawa

COURTESY BILL HOSOKAWA

ANNALS' REVIEWS

Recording Your Family History. By William Fletcher. New York: Dodd, Mead & Company, 1987. Index. 313 pp. Paper \$9.95.

Your Life & Times—How to Put a Life Story on Tape: An Oral History Handbook. By Stephen and Julia Arthur. Nobleton, Florida: Heritage Tree Press, 1986. Illustrated. 50 pp. Paper \$6.95.

Even if you have never interviewed anyone in your life and feel you would not be able to handle such a task, fear no more. There are many publications on the market that will answer nearly every question that you might have regarding such work. Two such publications are now available for beginning, semi-professional and professional interviewers. The books, *Recording Your Family History*, by William Fletcher, and *Your Life and Times*, by Stephen and Julia Arthur, are two such publications that literally take you by the hand (or in this instance, by the tape recorder) and advise you from start to finish on how to prepare, organize and complete a successful interview.

Fletcher's book consists of an introduction to an interviewer's world, and several interesting and helpful articles about equipment. Topics covered are how to avoid "mike fright" (which is actually more common than many people realize), starting an interview, how long to interview and how to label and not edit original tapes.

He has questions listed regarding every aspect of life, from intimate family secrets to major and minor happenings in the family circle to worldwide events. His listings are so in-depth that an interviewer could not possibly use every question. In fact, some questions may not be appropriate for all persons. However, Fletcher's index starting with abortion and ending with Zionism will give the reader exceptional subjects to tackle and discuss during their individual interviews. Fletcher has also listed additional reading material that would benefit any family or historical project one would be thinking of attempting in the future. *Recording Your Family History* is a "must" for anyone contemplating any kind of oral history project.

Your Life and Times, by Stephen and Julia Arthur, although not written with quite as much detail as *Recording Your Family History*, is nonetheless, a very interesting, informative and useful book. It might be more helpful to younger persons attempting to join the oral history ranks. The format is different with regards to the various questions. It is a more personalized view of oral history as the Table of Contents indicates. The first listing is "My Life and Times," then "My Family" and so on. The book offers many different questions regarding family life, which

again, may border some very sensitive areas for certain persons. However, as one becomes more relaxed with interviewing, some of the questions could be broached in an easy manner and possibly answered in the same way.

This book, only 50 pages long, is very easy to read and again would be an asset to anyone planning to start a family oral history project. Of particular interest is the final page which lists other avenues an interviewer should explore to find family treasures such as birth, marriage and death certificates, plus approaching genealogical societies and searching libraries for additional material that will enhance the finished product of any family history.

With mobility being the national trend, and the telephone taking over from the written word, oral history may well be the only true legacy that we can all leave behind regardless of position, wealth and power.

JEAN BRAINERD

The reviewer is Research and Oral History Supervisor, Wyoming State Archives, Museums and Historical Department.

Cities of the Prairie Revisited: The Closing of the Metropolitan Frontier. Daniel Elazar with Rozann Rothman, Stephen L. Schechter, Maren Allan Stein, and Joseph Zikmund II. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1986. Maps. Figures. Tables. Notes. Bibliography. Index. 288 pp. Cloth \$25.

Cities of the Prairie Revisited: The Closing of the Metropolitan Frontier is a continuation of David Elazar's study of medium-sized cities in the upper Missouri-Mississippi Valley. In his first study, *Cities of the Prairie: The Metropolitan Frontier and American Politics*, Elazar analyzed political developments during the postwar period up to 1960 in nineteen cities in ten metropolitan areas. In this resurvey, covering the period since 1960, he has refined his focus by limiting his study to eleven cities. Included in this group are Champaign-Urbana, Moline, Rockford and Springfield, Illinois; Davenport, Iowa; Duluth, Minnesota; and Pueblo, Colorado, as well as Decatur, East St. Louis, Joliet, and Peoria, Illinois.

This resurvey is divided into two parts, an overview and four case studies. In the first part, Elazar continues his use of Martin Grodins' model of community politics whose central premise is that local political systems must be studied within their larger geohistorical, cultural, economic and political settings. What Elazar discovered in his resurvey tended to confirm his earlier findings. The cities of the prairie were bastions of continuity, rather than

harbingers of great change. During the 1960s and 1970s, they succeeded in maintaining their local identity by resisting outside pressures that threatened their individual character, while accommodating those that did not. Unlike their metropolitan counterparts, these cities either ignored or resisted offers of large sums of federal and state funds because the Great Society programs sought to rearrange local government priorities. Because it lacked this radical aspect, Nixon's Revenue Sharing Program proved far more acceptable to these cities.

Similar resiliency appeared when the cities of the prairie were confronted by the prospect of racial integration. As Elazar predicted in his previous study, Blacks and Hispanics achieved political, social and economic integration with relative ease. The cities adopted a policy of accommodation, largely because these minorities did not exhibit any significant growth, which might otherwise have threatened the status quo. Because change was minimal, the political culture in these cities remained intact, and largely unaltered.

Another major theme of Elazar's resurvey is that the period since 1960 witnessed what he calls the closing of the metropolitan frontier. With the Arab oil embargo of the mid-1970s, metropolitan growth in the cities of the prairie slowed almost to a standstill. While this phenomenon followed the national pattern, Elazar suggests that the end of metropolitan growth holds a special significance for cities which always existed in a frontier environment. Having raised this problem, Elazar then discards it by suggesting that a new frontier created by a citybelt-cybernetic network may allow these cities to maintain their identity through the 1980s and onward.

In the second part of this book, four case studies illustrate the different problems and responses experienced by the cities of the prairie since 1960. In response to a declining industrial base, Pueblo, Colorado, underwent considerable constitutional change by creating a metropolitan political structure to plan the area's economic growth. Similar developments occurred in the Champaign-Urbana area where local government assumed new responsibilities not only for planning, but also to handle the sensitive issue of racial integration. In two other case studies, the continuance of tradition was emphasized more than the policies of change. Decatur, Illinois, continued its agricommercial tradition by becoming the corporate headquarters for Archer-Daniels-Midlands, a manufacturer of grain products, while local officials in Joliet spent considerable energy responding to—and resisting—outside pressures for change. The overall conclusion received from these studies is that the cities of the prairie are fairly well-insulated communities which resist change unless it is internally motivated.

Elazar's resurvey is a major contribution to our understanding of urban political developments in medium-size cities during what is largely regarded as the late great tumultuous period in American history. As this study in-

dicates, this period may not be as tumultuous as originally believed, since continuity rather than change was the norm in the cities of the prairie. *Cities of the Prairie Revisited* is required reading for all students interested in urban developments in the 20th century.

FRED W. VIEHE

The reviewer is Assistant Professor of History, Youngstown State University, Ohio.

Frontier Spirit: The Story of Wyoming. By Craig Sodaro and Randy Adams. Boulder, Colorado: Johnson Publishing Company, 1986. Illustrated. Bibliography. Index. 248 pp. Cloth \$16.95. Paper \$10.95.

This handsome volume is designed for use as a textbook in the eighth grade. The authors are teachers at Torrington Middle School.

Dr. Grace R. Hebard, long-time political economy professor at the University of Wyoming, dominated the Wyoming history textbook business until she died in 1936. Her *History and Government of Wyoming* was published in eleven editions, beginning in 1904, and her *Pathbreakers from River to Ocean*, in six editions, beginning in 1911. Several excellent textbooks appeared after World War II. *Wyoming Pageant* (1946) by Virginia Cole Trenholm and Maurine Carley, and *Wyoming: Frontier State* (1947) by Velma Linford, have served eighth graders for many years. Fourth graders have been pleased with *Wyoming's People* (1958) by Clarice Whittenburg (updated several times by Carol Stineford), *Living Wyoming's Past* (1983) by Gordon O. Hendrickson and Arnold L. Willems, and *Volcanoes to Smokestacks* by Lucille Crouser and Bess Tweedt (1983).

The Sodaro and Adams narrative moves along chronologically under twelve chapter headings: Physical Wyoming, Early Hunters in Wyoming, The Fur Trade, Trails through Wyoming, The Indian Wars, The Transcontinental Railroad, Territorial Wyoming, Statehood at Last, Wyoming During World War I, Hard Times, Wyoming During World War II and Modern Wyoming. A dozen maps, more than 100 well chosen pictures and colorful quotations enhance reader enjoyment.

Dr. Hebard's favorite subject, Sacajawea, is dismissed with only one sentence. Apparently Sodaro and Adams have been influenced by Blanche Schroer's masterly presentation and analysis of the Sacajawea controversy (*Annals of Wyoming*, Spring, 1980).

In general, *Frontier Spirit* passes muster with respect to content, organization, binding and typeface. There are several details, however, that need correction in a revised edition. The authors are confused about the Verendryes, bringing them into Wyoming in 1739 instead of 1742-1743. The first Verendrye expedition got no farther than the Mandan villages. There is confusion also about the route followed by the Wilson Price Hunt expedition. And Ashley's first fur trade rendezvous occurred on Henry's Fork of the Green River, not at Henry's Fort, which was on another Henry's Fork, the one on the Snake River in Idaho.

Wyoming's acreage is 62, not 6.2 million. The Medicine Wheel is on Medicine Mountain, not Medicine Bow Mountain. Jim Bridger built his fort at the present location in 1843, not 1845. Joseph M. Carey came to Wyoming as U.S. Attorney, not U.S. Marshal. Famous Colonel (later General) Albert Sidney Johnston should not be called Albert Sydney Johnson, nor should Edward M. Lee be labeled Edwin. Indeed, the proof reading was careless, failing to catch twenty or so misspelled words and typographical errors.

Notwithstanding occasional defects, this book is welcome, has many good qualities, and will be enjoyed by its readers.

T. A. LARSON

The reviewer is Professor Emeritus of History, University of Wyoming.

The Feminine Frontier: Wyoming Women 1850-1900. By Denise Wheeler. Published by author, 1987. Bibliography. Illustrated. 313 pp. Cloth \$14.95.

This volume, a compendium of anecdotal stories about women who were born or lived in Wyoming during some part of the last half of the 19th century, takes the form of personal tributes to early settlers in an important region and period of Wyoming history. It gathers material which is difficult to come by in women's history and must be recognized for the effort to accumulate a sizeable sample of people and data.

To appreciate *The Feminine Frontier*, one must also understand what it is not. First, there appears not to be anything particularly feminine or peculiar to women in the frontier Denise Wheeler describes. The book is also not about Wyoming women in general, but rather 113 women from southwest Wyoming, and, after the first chapter (which includes two Indian and one Chinese women), all are white immigrants, mostly Mormon pioneers from the British Isles.

More fundamentally, *The Feminine Frontier* is not really historical scholarship, for it lacks all of the historical questions, theses and analysis which women's history, social history and western history have been in the process of refining for the past fifteen years. The author lists the names of "Women Highlighted," but that heading misleads the reader into thinking they are illustrative examples of major themes. They instead constitute the whole text, with each person's two-page narrative running into the next without comment or comparison.

The uniform brevity of the biographical sketches allows no conceptual emphases. One woman, who had fourteen children and ran a hotel while her husband was away on the railroad and was eventually killed in a boiler explosion, is noted as "expanding the business in 1929 by building orange and dark-brown tourist cabins at the back of the hotel" (p. 246). One wants to know more about this woman's skills, resources and fate at this critical historical

point than about her choice of paint color. Similarly, a passage about a miner's wife describes in one paragraph her refusal to polish her husband's boots and in the next her caretaking of the families and arranging the burials of sixty-five miners killed in an explosion, all in a total of 130 words (p. 87).

The basic organization and nearly half the brief descriptive material of the book rests on the occupations and activities of the men who settled Wyoming. One can get a sense of certain patterns of auxiliary economic activities—such as the agricultural work routinely performed by many of the Almy coal miners' wives or the occupations which nearly all the railroad workers' families had on their own. But, in fact, without any comparative analysis, it really is not clear whether these women's lives were generally uniform in their labor, expectations and relationships, or whether there really are categorical differences among the women represented by each chapter.

Nevertheless, the often extraordinary activities of these "common" women beg for development, for a place in the context of larger historical questions about women's willing or unwilling contributions to frontier settlement, about the existence of domestic feminism, the functions of women's culture, the separation of the spheres between men's and women's roles and political and economic equity in the West. Beyond that are myriad questions about the importance of social class, ethnicity and religion in shaping these women's lives.

In the second of two paragraphs summarizing the entire volume, the author asserts,

Often the frontier experience proved to be liberating and provided both [sic] political, economic, and personal opportunities that would not have been possible elsewhere. These hardy and self-sufficient women stepped out of traditional accepted roles and with few regrets. The experiences of these courageous pioneers continue to influence modern women in their values and attitudes long after the passing of the frontier.

That provocative statement raises no fewer than half a dozen questions about women in Wyoming history which have by no means been definitively answered. The examples these women's lives provide may eventually help us answer questions about traditional roles vs. frontier liberation, political equality vs. lack of representation, economic independence vs. subservience, the distinctiveness of Wyoming vs. similarities in all women's lives, enthusiasm vs. forbearance on the frontier, and the historical legacy vs. the impact of modern change. At present, we still need both a deeper and more comprehensive analysis of the history of women in Wyoming.

KATHERINE JENSEN

The reviewer is Associate Professor of Sociology and Director of Women's Studies, University of Wyoming.

The Golden Sword, The Coming of Capitalism to the Colorado Mining Frontier. By Michael Neuschatz. Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1986. Index. Bibliography. xii and 301 pp. Cloth \$37.95.

The mining experience in the mountain West continues to attract the interest of historians and other scholars. Michael Neuschatz, focusing on the Colorado gold fields, challenges a general theory that the early phase of union organization was characterized by political radicalism and aggressive tactics in order to build militancy among rank and file members. As union strength grew, according to the standard viewpoint, leaders settled down and exchanged "uncompromising hostility" toward employers for a more "reasonable" attitude. Neuschatz argues, however, that there existed an economic and a political dimension to the struggle of Colorado miners. Rather than accept the orthodox position that unions were radicalized by a group of dissident intellectuals imported into the region, the author claims that the most radical views came from working miners and that members shared a socialist platform and organizational strategy with their leaders.

The Western Federation of Miners entered Colorado in 1894 demanding bread and butter issues and providing social institutions to improve life in isolated camps. The organization emerged as a militant union as the result of a combination of factors: small scale mine operators were fragmented; they lacked the resources necessary to survive a series of strikes; owners had no control over local or state government. Within a decade, however, conditions changed significantly, undermining union strength. Following rapid consolidation, seven percent of the corporations controlled four-fifths of the total production. Mine owners could stiffen resistance to the WFM by marshaling greater resources, withstanding strikes and shut-downs, utilizing scab labor, hiring guards and detectives,

and influencing politicians. Neuschatz portrayed this transformation in the relationship between employers and employees by detailing the bitter struggle near Cripple Creek, the largest district in the state and a WFM stronghold. "The ultimate fate of the union was decided there more than anywhere else" (p. 185). With the union defeated by 1904 its economic success and political militancy was significantly diminished.

This book may appeal to those interested in organization theory, labor history and militant unionism. Western historians familiar with the mining frontier and those well read in Colorado's past will find little that is new. With the exception of the *Engineering and Mining Journal* and the Federation's *Miners' Magazine*, the narrative is based on a limited number of secondary sources. On one hand Neuschatz relies to an extreme on a 1964 dissertation, while on the other he ignores the excellent works of Ronald Brown, James Fell and Mark Wyman. Several nagging stylistic elements detract from the narrative. The author consistently uses plural references "we" and "our" when referring to himself; too often he reminds readers that material was "previously mentioned." Numerous individuals are quoted by last name without any attempt to establish their identity or significance. The author tried to use a brief period in Colorado labor and mining history to refute other historical approaches and to examine conditions that may have fostered or hindered similar developments in other settings. He has accomplished that goal with minimal success.

DAVID A. WALKER

The reviewer is Professor of History, University of Northern Iowa.

BOOK NOTES

Only the River Runs Easy: A Historical Portrait of the Upper Green River Valley. By H. L. Skinner. Boulder, Colorado: Pruett Publishing Company, 1985. Illustrated. Bibliography. 121 pp. Paper \$14.95.

This history of the first 25 miles of the Green River Valley in western Wyoming combines the stories of the natural wonders of the area along with accounts of various settlers of the area.

In Search of Hollywood, Wyoming: 1894-The Silent Years-1929. By William R. Huey. Published by the author, 1985. Illustrated. Index. Bibliography. 128 pp. Paper.

This book chronicles the history of the making of the motion pictures about and in Wyoming during the era of the silent film. The author also includes information about three Wyoming based motion picture production companies. A second volume is planned on the later years.

With Crook in the Black Hills: Stanley J. Morrow's 1876 Photographic Legacy. By Paul L. Hedren. Boulder, Colorado: Pruett Publishing Company, 1985. Illustrated. Index. Bibliography. Appendix. vi and 83 pp. Paper.

General George Crook's 1876 campaign against the Sioux Indians is chronicled here through the photographs of Stanley J. Morrow, who accompanied the expedition during the last few months of that year. These views are provided here along with the author's photographs taken in 1983 when he traced a portion of Crook's route.

Old Yellowstone Views. By John F. Barber. Missoula, Montana: Mountain Press Publishing Company, 1987. Illustrated. Bibliography. 89 pp. Paper \$8.95.

This is the story of Yellowstone National Park told through the words and photographs of the park's many visitors. The book begins with a look at the area's first in-

habitants, includes the scenic photographs of William Henry Jackson and concludes with the advent of motorized travel in the park.

Wyoming: Historical Tour Guide. By D. Ray Wilson. Carpentersville, Illinois: Crossroads Communications, 1984. Illustrated. Index. vi and 246 pp. Paper \$8.95.

This publication covers a wide range of topics. The author discusses well known Wyoming historical characters, little known facts about the state and its people and listings of natural wonders, museums and historic sites from around the state.

The Latter-Day Saints' Emigrants' Guide. By W. Clayton. Edited by Stanley B. Kimball. Gerald, Missouri: The Patrice Press, 1983. Originally published: St. Louis: Missouri Republican Steam Power Press, 1848. Illustrated. Maps. Index. 86 pp. Cloth \$9.95.

During his 1847 journey overland to Salt Lake City, William Clayton recorded information he knew would be useful to future travelers. He published this information in his emigrant guide in 1848. This volume, edited by Stanley B. Kimball, professor of history at Southern Illinois University, contains not only the contents of the 24 page booklet, but also a biographical sketch of Clayton by Dr. James B. Allen, head of the history department at Brigham Young University.

Cowboy Life on the Sidetrack. By Frank Benton. Springfield, Illinois: Lincoln Herndon Press, Inc., 1986. Originally published: By the author, 1903. Illustrated. iv and 125 pp. Paper \$7.95.

First published in 1903, the book relates the humorous, fictional tale of a working cowboy-rancher shipping his cattle via the railroad from his ranch in Utah to the central market at Omaha, Nebraska, around the turn of the century. During this trip, the railroad oftentimes placed the

stock train on sidetracks in order to make way for more profitable or influential freight, hence the title.

Indians of Yellowstone Park. By Joel C. Janetski. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1987. Illustrated. Maps. Notes. vi and 86 pp. Paper \$8.95.

Using both archaeological evidence and historical sources, the author, a professional archaeologist, studies the Indians who once inhabited the Yellowstone Park area. Subjects include prehistoric man in Yellowstone, the historic period, the Sheepeaters, the Bannock Trail, the Nez Perce war and others.

The Custer Myth: A Source Book of Custeriana. By W. A. Graham. Bibliography by Fred Dustin. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1986. Originally published: Harrisburg, Pennsylvania: Stackpole Co., 1953. Illustrated. Maps. Index. Bibliography. xxii and 379 pp. Cloth \$35.00. Paper \$7.95.

This book is a valuable guide to the sources relating to the Battle of the Little Big Horn. First published in 1953, it presents both Indian and military accounts, descriptions of the burials and reburials, an extensive bibliography compiled by Fred Dustin and much more.

Lewis and Clark Among the Indians. By James P. Ronda. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1984. Illustrated. Maps. Index. Notes. Bibliography. Appendix. xv and 255 pp. Cloth \$24.95.

Based on historical, anthropological and archaeological research, this study of the Lewis and Clark expedition explores the relations between the American explorers and the Indians they encountered. A reassessment of Sacagawea's role as guide is presented as are the Indians' responses to the expedition's economic, political and scientific aims.

INDEX

A

- Adams, Randy, *Frontier Spirit: The Story of Wyoming*, review, 51-52
Adams, W. T., 30
Agriculture [Wyoming], 22-31
Almy, Wyoming, 9
American Bridge Company, 5
Amundson, Michael A., "Through the Lens of J. E. Stimson: Past and Present," 32-45
Arthur, Julia, *Your Life & Times—How to Put a Life Story on Tape: An Oral History Handbook*, review, 50
Arthur, Stephen, *Your Life & Times—How to Put a Life Story on Tape: An Oral History Handbook*, review, 50
Atlantic City, Wyoming, photos, 41

B

- Barbian, Joseph J., 19-20
Basin, Wyoming, 24
Big Horn Basin [Wyoming], 25
Big Horn Basin Development Company, 25
Big Horn River [Wyoming], 25
Bishop, M. Guy, "More Than One Coal Road to Zion: The Utah Territory's Efforts to Ease Dependency on Wyoming Coal," 8-16
Bowser, Wilber, 26
Brainerd, Jean, review of *Recording Your Family History*, 50
Brainerd, Jean, review of *Your Life & Times—How to Put a Life Story on Tape: An Oral History Handbook*, 50
Buffalo, Wyoming, 24-25
Buffum, Bert C., 25-26

C

- Carbon, Wyoming, 9
Carpenter, Wyoming, 26
Chalk Creek, Utah, 12
"The Changing Face of Cowboy State Agriculture: Turn of the Century Wyoming Agriculturalist—A Demographic Profile," Vicki Page and William L. Hewitt, 22-31
Cheyenne Trunk Factory, 18-20; photos, 18, 20
Cheyenne, Wyoming, 18-20; photos, 32-33
Chicago, Burlington and Quincy Railroad, 23, 25-26
Cities of the Prairie Revisited: The Closing of the Metropolitan Frontier, by Daniel Elazar with Rozann Rothman, Stephen L. Schechter, Maren Allan Stein and Joseph Zikmund II, review, 50-51
Clay, John, 23
Cluff, Bishop W. W., 10-11
Coalville, Utah, 8, 10-15; photo, 10
Cody, William F. "Buffalo Bill," 25
Cook, Dr. V. T., 25

D

- Dale Creek Bridge [Wyoming], 3-7; photos, 2-6
"Dale Creek Crossing," Mark L. Gardner, 2-7
Dale, Edward Everett, 23
Deaver, D. Clem, 25
Denver and Rio Grande Western Railroad, 15
Diamondville, Wyoming, photos, 40
Dodge, Grenville, M., 3

E

- Echo, Utah, 10-12, 15
Egbert, Wyoming, 24-25

- Elazar, Daniel, *Cities of the Prairie Revisited: The Closing of the Metropolitan Frontier*, review, 50-51
Emery, [Utah] Governor George B., 13
Evans, Col. James A., 5
Evans, J. A., 5
Evanston, Wyoming, photos, 37

F

- The Feminine Frontier: Wyoming Women 1850-1900*, by Denice Wheeler, review, 52
Fletcher, William, *Recording Your Family History*, review, 50
Fort D. A. Russell [Wyoming], 19
Fremont, Nebraska, 9
Frontier Spirit: The Story of Wyoming, by Craig Sodaro and Randy Adams, review, 51-52

G

- Gardner, Mark L., "Dale Creek Crossing," 2-7
Germania, Wyoming, 25
Germans, 25
Glass, Frank, 26
Godfrey, Cyrus O., 9
The Golden Sword: The Coming of Capitalism to the Colorado Mining Frontier, by Michael Neuschatz, review, 52-53
Gorman, Robert, 26
Gould, Abram, 12
Granite Springs Reservoir [Wyoming], photos, 38-39
Green River, Wyoming, photos, 42

H

- Haggin, J. B., 14
"Handmade Trunks," Mariann McCormick, 17-21
Hardy, Claude, 26
Hardy, Judson, 26
Hart, G. A., 23, 25
Hartville, Wyoming, photos, 36-37
Heart Mountain [Wyoming] Relocation Center, 46-49; photo, 47
Hewitt, William L., "The Changing Face of Cowboy State Agriculture: Turn of the Century Wyoming Agriculturalist—A Demographic Profile," 22-31
Hillsdale, Wyoming, 26
Hosokawa, William (Bill) K., 46-49; photo, 49

J

- Jackson, William Henry, 5, 7
Jensen, Katherine, review of *The Feminine Frontier: Wyoming Women 1850-1900*, 52

K

- Kantner, H. W. B., 15
Keslar, Clarence A., 26
Kloberdanz, Timothy J., 25

L

- Larson, T. A., 30
Larson, T. A., review of *Frontier Spirit: The Story of Wyoming*, 51-52
Lovell, Wyoming, 24-25
Luther [Burns], Wyoming, 26

M

- McCormick, Mariann, "Handmade Trunks," 17-21
 Mexicans, 25
 "More Than One Coal Road to Zion: The Utah Territory's Efforts to Ease
 Dependency on Wyoming Coal," M. Guy Bishop, 8-16

N

- Nebeker, George, 11
 Nelson, Aven, 30
 Neuschatz, Michael, *The Golden Sword: The Coming of Capitalism to the Colorado Mining Frontier*, review, 52-53

O

- Ogden, Utah, 9-12, 15
 Olson, Ted, 26
 Ontario Mining Company, 13-14

P

- Page, Vicki, "The Changing Face of Cowboy State Agriculture: Turn of
 the Century Wyoming Agriculturalist—A Demographic Profile,"
 22-31
 Park City, Utah, 11, 13-14; photo, 14
 Park County, Wyoming, 25

R

- Rawlins, Wyoming, photos, 35
Recording Your Family History, by William Fletcher, review, 50
 Rock Springs, Wyoming, 9-10, 12; photo, 13
 Russell, Andrew, 5, 7
 Russian-Germans, 25

S

- Salt Lake City, Utah, 8-15
 Saratoga, Wyoming, photos, 43
 Savage, C. B., 7
 Sherman Pass, 3
 Snow, C. H., 3-4
 Sodaro, Craig, *Frontier Spirit: The Story of Wyoming*, review, 51-52
 Stimson, J. E., 7, 33-34, 36; photographs, 32-33, 35-45

- Summit County [Utah] Railroad, 11, 15
 Summit County, Utah, 8-9, 11-12
 Sunrise, Wyoming, photos, 44-45

T

- "Through the Lens of J. E. Stimson: Past and Present," Michael A.
 Amundson, 32-45
 Tullidge, Edward, 15
 Turner, Frederick Jackson, 22-23

U

- Union Pacific Railroad, 3-7, 8-15, 34
 Utah Central Railroad, 10-12
 Utah Eastern Railroad, 8, 11, 13-15
 Utah Northern Railroad, 10
 Utah Territory, 8-15

V

- Vanderhoff, William H., 18-20
 Viehe, Fred W., review of *Cities of the Prairie Revisited: The Closing of the
 Metropolitan Frontier*, 50-51

W

- Walker, David A., review of *The Golden Sword: The Coming of Capitalism
 to the Colorado Mining Frontier*, 52-53
 Wardell, Thomas, 9
 Webb, Walter Prescott, 23
 Weybrecht, Jacob F., 20
 Wheatland, Wyoming, 24-25
 Wheeler, Denice, *The Feminine Frontier: Wyoming Women 1850-1900*, review,
 52
 Wiley, Solon, 25
 Wunderlich, Reverend A. C., 25
 Wyoming Plant and Feed Breeding Company, 25

Y

- Young, Brigham, 9-11
*Your Life & Times—How to Put a Life Story on Tape: An Oral History Hand-
 book*, by Stephen and Julia Arthur, review, 50

WYOMING STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

The Wyoming State Historical Society was organized in October, 1953. Membership is open to anyone interested in history. County chapters of the society have been chartered in most of the twenty-three counties of Wyoming. Past presidents of the society include; Frank Bowron, Casper, 1953-55; William L. Marion, Lander, 1955-56; Dr. DeWitt Dominick, Cody, 1956-57; Dr. T. A. Larson, Laramie, 1957-58; A. H. MacDougall, Rawlins, 1958-59; Mrs. Thelma G. Condit, Buffalo, 1959-60; E. A. Littleton, Gillette, 1960-61; Edness Kimball Wilkins, Casper, 1961-62; Charles Ritter, Cheyenne, 1962-63; Neal E. Miller, Rawlins, 1963-65; Mrs. Charles Hord, Casper, 1965-66; Glenn Sweem, Sheridan, 1966-67; Adrian Reynolds, Green River, 1967-68; Curtiss Root, Torrington, 1968-69; Mrs. Hattie Burnstad, Worland, 1969-70; J. Reuel Armstrong, Rawlins, 1970-71; William R. Dubois, Cheyenne, 1971-72; Henry F. Chadey, Rock Springs, 1972-73; Richard S. Dumbrill, Newcastle, 1973-74; Henry Jensen, Casper, 1974-75; Jay Brazelton, Jackson, 1975-76; Ray Pendergraft, Worland, 1976-77; David J. Wasden, Cody, 1977-78; Mabel Brown, Newcastle, 1978-79; James June, Green River, 1979-80; William F. Bragg, Jr., Casper, 1980-81; Don Hodgson, Torrington, 1981-82; Clara Jensen, Lysite-Casper, 1982-83; Fern Gaensslen, Green River, 1983-84; Dave Kathka, Rock Springs, 1984-85; Mary Garman, Sundance, 1985-86; Ellen Mueller, 1986-87.

Membership information may be obtained from the Executive Headquarters, Wyoming State Historical Society, Barrett Building, Cheyenne, Wyoming 82002. Dues in the state society are:

Life Membership	\$100
Joint Life Membership (husband and wife)	\$150
Annual Membership	\$5
Joint Annual Membership (two persons of same family at same address)	\$7
Institutional Membership	\$10

	<i>President, Mary Nielsen, Cody</i>
	<i>First Vice President, Loren Jost, Riverton</i>
1987-88	<i>Second Vice-President, Lucille Dumbrill, Newcastle</i>
Officers	<i>Secretary-Treasurer, Roseine Church, Cheyenne</i>
	<i>Executive-Secretary, David Kathka</i>
	<i>Coordinator, Judy West</i>



ANNALS of WYOMING

Volume 60, No. 2

Fall, 1988



THE WYOMING STATE ARCHIVES, MUSEUMS AND HISTORICAL DEPARTMENT

The function of the Wyoming State Archives, Museums and Historical Department is to collect and preserve materials which tell the story of Wyoming. It maintains the state's historical library and research center, the Wyoming State Museum and branch museums, the State Art Gallery and the State Archives. The Department solicits original records such as diaries, letters, books, early newspapers, maps, photographs and art and records of early businesses and organizations as well as artifacts for museum display. The Department asks for the assistance of all Wyoming citizens to secure these documents and artifacts. Department facilities are designed to preserve these materials from loss and deterioration. The State Historic Preservation Office is also located in the Department.

WYOMING STATE LIBRARY, ARCHIVES, MUSEUMS AND HISTORICAL BOARD

Frank Bowron, Casper, Chairman
Lucille Clarke Dumbrell, Newcastle
George Zebre, Kemmerer
Tom Mangan, Laramie
Bill Bruce Hines, Gillette
Gladys Hill, Douglas
Gretel Ehrlich, Shell
George Zeimans, Lingle
Mary Guthrie, Attorney General's Office, Ex-officio

EDITORIAL ADVISORY BOARD

Lawrence A. Cardoso
David Kathka
William H. Moore
Robert L. Munkres

ABOUT THE COVER—J.E. Stimson photographed Fremont Peak (13,744 ft.) of the Wind River Mountains in September, 1937. The peak was named for John C. Frémont, U.S. Army Engineer and famed western explorer. On August 15, 1842, Frémont climbed what he claimed to be the highest peak in that range. There is some question, however, if Frémont climbed Fremont Peak or Mt. Woodrow Wilson (13,502 ft.). No matter which one, his claim still would not have been accurate because the highest summit in the Wind Rivers is Gannett (13,804 ft.). For a detailed discussion of Frémont's climb see "Frémont in the Wind Rivers," by James R. Wolf in this issue. (AMH photograph)

ANNALS of WYOMING

Volume 60, No. 2
Fall, 1988

GOVERNOR OF WYOMING

Mike Sullivan

DIRECTOR

David Kathka

EDITOR

Rick Ewig

ASSISTANT EDITORS

Jean Brainerd

Roger Joyce

Ann Nelson

EDITORIAL ASSISTANTS

Kathy Flores

Judy West

PHOTOGRAPHIC

ASSISTANTS

Paula West-Chavoya

Carroll Jones

Ed Fowler

TABLE OF CONTENTS

FRÉMONT IN THE WIND RIVERS	2
by James R. Wolf	
WYOMING'S OUTLAW BROTHERS	12
by Jim Dullenty and Mary Stoner Hadley	
CONGRESS AND THE INDIAN:	
The Politics of Conquest	22
by Robert L. Munkres	
ADVENTURES OF AN ENGLISHMAN	
IN CUMMINS CITY:	
Letters from Robert Mills	32
edited by Jean Brainerd	
MUMMY CAVE REVISITED	44
by Susan Hughes	
INSIDE WYOMING	55
ANNALS' REVIEWS	57
BOOK NOTES	62
INDEX	63



ANNALS OF WYOMING is published biannually in the Spring and Fall by the Wyoming State Press. It is received by all members of the Wyoming State Historical Society as the official publication of that organization. Copies of previous and current issues may be purchased from the Editor. Correspondence should be addressed to the Editor. Published articles represent the views of the author and are not necessarily those of the Wyoming State Archives, Museums and Historical Department or the Wyoming State Historical Society. ANNALS OF WYOMING articles are abstracted in Historical Abstracts, America: History and Life.



"View of the Wind River Mountains," from Frémont's official report. The artist was at Lester Pass. Island Lake is in the valley beyond the spur ridge in the middle ground.

FRÉMONT IN THE WIND RIVERS

by James R. Wolf



John C. Frémont led an expedition to the Wind River Mountains in the summer of 1842. While there, he climbed one of the highest peaks in the range. His journal reveals far more to us, though, than the identity of this summit. With the aid of modern topographic maps and the diary of Frémont's cartographer, Charles Preuss, the journal describes an itinerary that can be followed closely today.¹

Frémont, a lieutenant in the Corps of Topographical Engineers, set out under orders that were deliberately vague. He was to make a survey of the Platte River, to the head of the Sweetwater, which would take him as far as South Pass. He was authorized to extend this survey "into the mountains," as he employed voyageurs to go there with him. Preuss, for one, appreciated that the expedition would spend some time on the western slope; and no doubt this was the common understanding. Frémont's actual goal of scaling the high peaks, though, seems to have been his own idea and one which, he acknowledges, went "beyond the strict order of our instructions."²

The party numbered about 30 in all—mostly French-Canadian veterans of the fur trade, along with Kit Carson as guide, Lucien Bonaparte Maxwell as hunter and the cartographer Preuss. They set out from today's Kansas City area on June 10. Despite warnings regarding the hostile intentions of Indians west of Fort Laramie—of sufficient concern to induce Kit Carson to make his will—Frémont led them farther west, up the North Platte and Sweetwater. They then swung north on a route that was to become the Lander Cutoff on the Oregon Trail. After crossing Little Sandy and Big Sandy creeks, they continued on to the East Fork River, opposite the large hills now known as Fremont Butte, where they camped on August 9.³

The morning of August 10 was glorious. New Fork Peak glittered in the first rays of the sun. And as the sun shot above the long mountain wall to the east, a magical change left the whole valley glowing and bright. The unexpected boldness of the broad streams was cause for some concern, though Frémont characterized his surprise in this regard as an agreeable disappointment.⁴

The East Fork makes a sharp bend at Fremont Butte, curving westward toward the Green River Valley. The party followed the river, therefore, only for a couple of miles before turning off to the north. From this point they were able to see the tops of the high peaks, prompting Frémont to write that they "were now approaching the loftiest part of the Wind River chain."⁵

The route led through very broken ground, among long rocky ridges. The party would have had to drop a short way into Elk Gulch before climbing through a long ravine to a ridgeline. There they unexpectedly came in view of Boulder Lake, "set like a gem in the mountains." Frémont Peak and other summits were again in sight in the distance, almost due north; the young lieutenant aimed for them as nearly as he could, avoiding more roundabout courses that might have been easier to travel.⁶

The immediate obstacle, though, was Boulder Lake, which lay transversely across the route. It would have been

simple to ride westward along the ridge, at an easy grade, toward the outlet of the lake. But, for reasons that are obscure the party made a steep descent down the north side—so steep, in fact, that it was necessary to dismount and lead the horses. After the initial drop, they proceeded without difficulty to the lower end of the lake, where “a view of the utmost magnificence and grandeur burst upon our eyes”—a reference to snow-capped peaks such as Mt. Bonneville in the distance beyond the tree-covered lower slopes of the range.⁷

The level of Boulder Lake has been raised a few feet by the construction of a low dam. Fortunately, though, this has not flooded the difficult ford of Boulder Creek, between low hills, about 150 yards below the spillway. The bed of the stream is still an accumulation of rocks, boulders and broad slabs; and even today dark lodgepole pines overhang its banks.⁸

The night of August 10 was spent in an aspen grove on the north shore of the lake.⁹ The expedition remained in camp the following day as well. As some of the men and animals were to be left there while Frémont rode up to the mountains, they spent the time building a breastwork for defense against the Blackfeet, who were thought to frequent the area.¹⁰

Fifteen men set out early in the morning of August 12.¹¹ They did not head up the ridge between Boulder Lake and Burnt Lake, as it is sometimes supposed.¹² Frémont specifically wrote that they crossed the ridge and soon heard the roar and had a glimpse of a waterfall—the cascades of Fall Creek about a quarter mile or so above its confluence with Meadow Creek. These were the two “fine streams” that had to be forded—Fall Creek well below the outlet of Burnt Lake and Meadow Creek just above Meadow Lake.¹³

Entering the mountains, the party took a course that is now known as the Timico Lake Trail; it is a gradual and easy ascent in forest. About two hours’ ride from camp led to the top of the first plateau. Here they overlooked a deep valley that was occupied by three connecting lakes; tree-covered slopes rose precipitously from the shores to a height of 500 to 1,000 feet. The description fits only one place: the chain from Belford Lake northward to Junction Lake. The guides had never been there before, and it is quite possible that the lakes were unknown even to the wandering trappers of the region, as Frémont speculated.¹⁴

The party descended the valley, following the margin of the lake where they could. Although the steep slopes and deadfall slowed them down, they managed to ford the outlet of Junction Lake (i.e., Pole Creek) in time to stop for lunch. Frémont described a pretty, open spot, with fine grass and a sandy beach, at the outlet.¹⁵

The journey resumed with a climb up the ridge on the western side of Junction Lake. The terrain was difficult, even for people on foot. Frémont noted that they chose a course a little inland “in search of smoother ground,” implying that the steep slopes presented an obstacle that had to be overcome. The ascent took them through aspens

and back into coniferous forest. When they reached the top, above the upper end of Junction Lake, they were able to look out over several lakes, at different levels, on Pole Creek. They could hear the roar of the “foaming torrents” that connected one lake to the next. From this vantage point it was apparent that they would have to follow a roundabout course along the ridge instead of descending into the deep valley that lay on the direct line to the high peaks.¹⁶

The ride that afternoon occasionally crossed meadows which resembled cultivated grounds, but more often was a passage through coniferous forest. At one point it was so rocky that the surface consisted solely of hollows and crevices, lacking vegetation altogether. One place that fits this description is half a mile east of Marys Lake. Here the expedition was able to swing eastward, generally along today’s Pole Creek Trail, until they reached their camp in a “hole in the mountains.”¹⁷

The campsite of August 12 was on Monument Creek. More precisely, the camp was situated where the Pole Creek Trail now fords that stream. The meadow above is “a level bottom of perhaps eighty yards width, where the grass was saturated” and the sluggish watercourse has a scarcely perceptible current, just as the journal indicates. While supper was being prepared, Frémont climbed the ridge to the east, to knoll 10357, from which he made some important observations. First, he ascertained that the party would be able to continue, by a smooth gradual slope, directly toward the peak which they had previously decided to be the “highest of the range.” In fact, the approach does not appear to be all that smooth, but at least it does seem negotiable, and perhaps that was enough for him to be satisfied and to declare it “so fine a road for the next day.” The route he had in mind would take him up the valley of Monument Creek and then up the south slope of Lester Pass, through which he could once again see Fremont Peak. That mountain, which he thought to be the highest, would then be in easy reach. The second observation was in the opposite direction, down “the long green valley of some stream, which . . . far away to the south found its way in a dense forest to the plains.” This is a reference to the Chain Lakes. Although they appear from knoll 10357 to drain to the south, they actually are disconnected, with their outlets headed down both Pole and Boulder creeks. The description shows that Frémont was not previously acquainted with the Chain Lakes and thus corroborates the postulated route of approach via Belford and Junction Lakes.¹⁸

The morning of August 13 was bright and pleasant, and the expedition rode up the slopes for about three miles—mostly over a carpet of grass that was brightened by yellow flowers, though occasionally a narrow ledge slowed them down. Eventually they came to Lake Nelson, from which they climbed to the ridge at Lester Pass, slightly above 11,000 feet. The scene from the pass, “a gigantic disorder of enormous masses, and a savage sublimity of naked rock,” is represented by the drawing

ALL PHOTOGRAPHS COURTESY THE AUTHOR



Fremont climbed Mt. Woodrow Wilson, on the far left, and described it as the highest point in the range. What did he make of Gannett Peak, the snowy summit on the right? The view is from Dimwoody Peak, a mile east of Mt. Woodrow Wilson.

Kit Carson reached the Continental Divide between massive Fremont Peak (center) and Mt. Jackson (right). The next day Fremont led his party up the Titcomb Valley, on the left.



in Frémont's report that is captioned "View of the Wind River Mountains."¹⁹

The view from Lester Pass was in fact a mixed blessing. The commander had been approaching the mountains with ever increasing confidence that the highest point was today's Fremont Peak and that it was readily accessible. This judgment was suddenly open to doubt, for other lofty summits came into sight to the north. We now know that one of them, Gannett Peak, is the most elevated point in the range—13,804 feet, or 60 feet higher than Fremont Peak. To the observer at Lester Pass, though, very little of Gannett is visible; much of the mountain, including its high point, lies hidden behind Mt. Woodrow Wilson. Whatever reservations Frémont might have had, he apparently resolved to carry out the original plan, which was to climb the mountain he had long regarded as the highest, i.e., Fremont Peak.

Leaving the mules and a few men at Lester Pass, Frémont and several of the party set out with the overambitious aim of climbing the mountain and returning to camp by nightfall. They took a course directly for Fremont Peak, one which forced them to climb over a spur ridge.²⁰ Because of the difficulties of the route, they needed several hours to reach the south side of Island Lake. The scenery there, including the lake and the mountains, is represented in rather fanciful fashion by a plate—the frontispiece in Frémont's 1843 report—labeled "Central Chain of the Wind River Mountains."²¹

They continued around the east end of Island Lake, which they named, passing a beach of white sand and some rocky seeps. They found a splendid campsite, close to a waterfall that tumbled down toward the lake. Searching for food, they thought they heard a goat, but the bleat turned out to be the call of the diminutive pika, "with short ears and no tail." Frémont also noted a small bird "like a sparrow"—probably a water pipit. There were scarlet flowers in abundance—no doubt Parry's primroses (not, as Frémont states, shootingstars). They were at timberline, which they estimated to be 10,000 feet above sea level.²²

Cold and hungry, they set out early on the morning of August 14. The plan was still to climb Fremont Peak. They started out correctly, heading up roaring waters to an ice-covered lake in Indian Basin. From here, the easiest route follows a ridge up the southwest side of the mountain. Unfortunately, they overlooked this route and, instead, tried to ascend the ice fields on the south side. Each climber picked his own way, with Kit Carson making the best progress. He managed to climb all the way to one of the snowy summits of the main ridge—i.e., the Continental Divide to the southeast of Fremont Peak—but the peak was still far out of reach. Disappointed at their lack of success, they turned back to Island Lake to spend the night. Frémont had meanwhile sent one of the men, Basil Lajeunesse, back to Lester Pass to pick up supplies. He had returned with blankets and provisions, so they were once again comfortable and secure.²³

The climactic day was August 15, when they were at



Mt. Woodrow Wilson, as viewed from the south (along Frémont's route of climb).

last successful in reaching a high summit on the Continental Divide. According to Frémont, their goal was the "main peak." He called it Snow Peak, "as it exhibited more snow to the eye than any of the neighboring summits." This is a proper description of Mt. Woodrow Wilson, as seen from the Titcomb Valley. The six men in the exploring party passed the Titcomb Lakes. Above them, as Frémont rightly noted, a serrated line of broken, jagged cones rose nearly perpendicular. The route was indeed the "fine passage" mentioned in the report—one of the most beautiful places to be found anywhere in the Rocky Mountains.²⁴

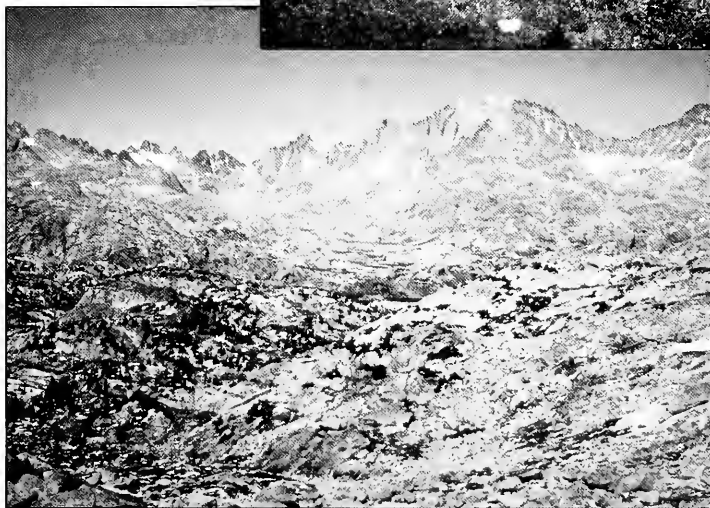
About 500 yards above the upper lake, they turned the mules they were riding loose to graze. Straight ahead was the couloir leading to Dinwoody Pass. Their route lay more to the west, up the left fork of the creek and on up to the snowfields on the south face of Woodrow Wilson. The final summit climb required cautious maneuvers. Fortunately, though, the rock was almost entirely free from snow.²⁵

Frémont "sprang upon the summit, and another step would have precipitated me into an immense snowfield five hundred feet below"—Dinwoody Glacier. The view encompassed tributaries of the Colorado, Yellowstone and Platte rivers; and the Tetons could be identified to the northwest. The direction of the central ridge of the Wind Rivers was 141°, an observation that fits Woodrow Wilson precisely.²⁶



The skyline of Knife Point Mountain is directly above the waterfall at Frémont's Island Lake camp. Knife Point's serrations inspired Charles Preuss to draw his "Central Chain of the Wind River Mountains."

The "hole in the mountains," on Monument Creek. As Frémont wrote, the stream flows "through a level bottom of perhaps eighty yards width, where the grass was saturated with water."



Looking north, from the spur ridge before Island Lake, toward snowy Mt. Woodrow Wilson (on the far left) and Fremont Peak (on the right). Gannett Peak is all but completely masked by Mt. Woodrow Wilson. From this perspective Fremont Peak might be regarded as the highest summit.

It was a marvelous accomplishment, but it is sullied by Frémont's untruthful claim that he "had climbed the loftiest peak of the Rocky Mountains." He could be excused for believing the Wyoming mountains to be higher than those of Colorado, but there was Gannett Peak staring him in the face. Scarcely a mile away, there could be no question of its superior elevation. A 300-foot differential at that distance cannot be mistaken.²⁷

Consider the pride and disappointment that must have marked the moment. The celebration was recorded even by the dour Preuss, who wrote that "pistols were fired, the flag unfurled, and we shouted 'hurrah' several times."²⁸ But the discovery of Gannett Peak was a shock. As noted above, its summit snowfield had appeared from Lester Pass to be part of the same mass as Mt. Woodrow Wilson.²⁹ Preuss' journal provides some more evidence of their expectations. According to the diary, Frémont had explained in the morning that they would try to ride their mules to the base of the last of the very high peaks, which they would then try to climb. This makes sense if they thought they were indeed going to attack the highest summit. On the other hand, if they had recognized in advance that Gannett was the last high peak, there would have been no reason to think they could get to its base and then reach its top.³⁰

It was about two o'clock when they left Mt. Woodrow Wilson, having felt the exultation of first explorers. Returning to Island Lake at nightfall without further incident, they lay down on the rock and, in spite of the cold, slept soundly.³¹

The return trip is treated only sketchily in Frémont's report. The party certainly recrossed Lester Pass, but instead of approaching it over the high, rocky spur that had tired them a few days earlier, they found an easier way (along today's Indian Pass Trail and Highline Trail).³² Rather than fight their way across Pole Creek and around Junction Lake, they then dropped directly down to the valley, fording Pole Creek at Half Moon Lake.³³ Everything went well, and by dusk on August 16, all were assembled once more at Boulder Lake. They cheerfully turned homeward, stopping the next two nights at Fremont Butte and at Little Sandy River. Frémont noted that the expedition stood exactly on the divide in South Pass, where the wagon road crossed, at 10 o'clock on August 19.³⁴ Halting that night on the Sweetwater, they again enjoyed the roasted ribs of buffalo.³⁵ "Good humor and laughter, and song were restored to the camp"—a good place, too, for us to take our leave.

JAMES R. WOLF has backpacked extensively along the Continental Divide between Canada and Mexico. He is Director of the Continental Divide Trail Society, Bethesda, Maryland, and has written several guidebooks about the Trail. He has undergraduate and law degrees from Yale University and serves as a senior attorney for the U.S. Nuclear Regulatory Commission.

1. John C. Frémont's journal was published as U.S. Congress, Senate, *A Report on an Exploration of the Country Lying between the Missouri River and the Rocky Mountains*, S. Rept. 243, 27th Cong., 3rd Sess., 1843. It is included with many other pertinent documents in Donald Jackson and Mary Lee Spence, *The Expeditions of John Charles Frémont*, Vol. 1 (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1970). The diary of John Charles Frémont is found in Erwin G. and Elisabeth K. Gudde, eds., *Exploring with Frémont* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1958). The feasibility of following the itinerary was established by the author during visits to the Wind Rivers in 1987 and 1988. For biographical information on Frémont (1813-1890), see Allan Nevins, *Frémont: Pathmaker of the West* (New York, 1955).
2. Jackson and Spence, *Expeditions of John Charles Frémont*, pp. 121-122, 124, 272; Gudde, *Exploring with Frémont*, p. 33. The objective of the expedition was to provide information that would aid emigration to Oregon, then jointly occupied with Great Britain, but the instigators may have conspired to conceal their political objectives from President Tyler, who was said to be unsympathetic. See John C. Frémont, *Memoirs of My Life*, Vol. 1 (Chicago: Belford, Clark, 1887), pp. 69-71, 163-165. Tyler, in fact, seems to have been eager to secure Oregon for settlement, but felt that disputes over that country should not upset the then-ongoing northeastern boundary negotiations. He may have signified his approval of the expedition, while wishing to preserve, in current parlance, credible deniability. See his Second Annual Message, December 6, 1842, in James D. Richardson, *Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, Vol. 4 (Washington, D.C.: 1900), p. 196. Information was needed, as settlers were beginning to venture west without the guidance and protection of fur trade caravans. Although the expedition was of little scientific importance, Frémont's report offered emigrants more facts about the route, as far as the Continental Divide, than could be gleaned from Irving, Parker, Townsend or other published sources. See, for example, the comments about the "nature of the road" provided in Jackson and Spence, *Expeditions of John Charles Frémont*, pp. 239-240, "for the satisfaction of travellers."
3. On August 6, they scrambled up Sweetwater Canyon for five miles from its mouth at Chimney Creek, ascended Strawberry Creek past the site of Lewiston, making camp near the Mormon cemetery site on Rock Creek or on Willow Creek a couple of miles farther west. Jackson and Spence, *Expeditions of John Charles Frémont*, pp. 251-252. Frémont's description may be compared with the more prosaic account in James R. Wolf, *Guide to the Continental Divide Trail*, Vol. 3: *Wyoming* (Washington, D.C.: 1980) pp. 129-133. The route on August 7 took the expedition back to the Sweetwater below Burnt Ranch. Because the bluffs crowd the stream, it is safe to assume that they proceeded northwest on what was later to become the Lander Cutoff on the Oregon Trail. This led them to a camp on the Sweetwater again, at the confluence with its East Fork; this can be located with confidence because the latitude corresponds (within half a mile) to that reported by Frémont and because access to the river downstream from there would be difficult. Jackson and Spence, *Expeditions of John Charles Frémont*, pp. 252-253. On August 8, they crossed the Continental Divide after a ride of six miles; this means that they would have traveled south of the Prospect Mountains instead of along Lander Creek. Having crossed the summit, they went another eight miles before making camp on Little Sandy Creek. Relying once again upon the reported latitude, the location would be about four miles northeast of Elk Mountain. Jackson and Spence, *Expeditions of John Charles Frémont*, pp. 253-254. This fits in with the journal's report of a noon halt on August 9 on Big Sandy (at Buckskin Crossing) and an afternoon ride, with a ford of the East Fork River, to a campsite across that stream from Fremont Butte; and, once again, the reported latitude checks out. Jackson and Spence, *Expeditions of John Charles Frémont*, pp. 245-255. Note, however, that the campsite on August 6 and the itinerary of August 7, as described in the text, differ from the line of march shown on the map of the expedition. Jackson and Spence, *Expeditions of John Charles Frémont*, Map Portfolio, Map 2. The region is covered by U.S. Department of the Interior, Public Land User Map, *Wyoming 10: South Pass*, 1978.

4. Here, as elsewhere, Frémont's exact language is taken directly from his report. Jackson and Spence, *Expeditions of John Charles Frémont*, p. 255. New Fork Peak, so designated on Forest Service maps, but called "Mount Baldy" on the U.S.G.S. Horseshoe Lake Quadrangle, is only 11, 867 feet in elevation. Its isolated location west of the main range makes it prominent from the valley. Frémont identified it as "a lofty snow peak," though these days it would exhibit only a few patches of snow in August. It has been suggested, on the basis of scattered statements (including one of Frémont's), that "much more snow remained in the mountains in summer during the nineteenth century than at present." John H. Moss, *Early Man in the Eden Valley* (Philadelphia: University Museum, University of Pennsylvania: 1951), p. 25. But those reports probably signify only that there had been a summer storm ephemeraly blanketing the higher elevations or that the authors were straining for literary effect. The snow conditions described in Frémont's report are remarkably consistent with the present situation. See also the sketches of Alfred Jacob Miller; although they are not strictly representational, the snow conditions they depict look accurate to the modern eye. E.g., "Lake and Mountain Scene," in Marvin C. Ross, *The West of Alfred Jacob Miller* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1951), pl. 104 (number 230 in catalogue raisonne, in Ron Tyler, ed. *Alfred Jacob Miller: Artist on the Oregon Trail* (Fort Worth, Texas: 1982). A sketch made at South Pass on August 1, 1849, with a few isolated snow patches on the higher mountains, could also be used for purposes of comparison. Georgia Willis Read and Ruth Gaines, eds., *Gold Rush: The Journals, Drawings and Other Papers of J. Goldborough Bruff* (New York: Columbia University, 1949), p. 61. The marvelous Seneca Lake photograph by William H. Jackson shows an almost snow-free Fremont Peak in 1878. Clarence S. Jackson, *Picture Maker of the Old West* (New York: C. Scribner's Sons, 1947), p. 96.
5. Jackson and Spence, *Expeditions of John Charles Frémont*, p. 255. Setting out in the morning, they quickly crossed Silver Creek. Soon they had to ride up a low ridge that runs all the way to the bank of the East Fork River (U.S.G.S. Boulder Lake Quadrangle). Here they turned north.
6. *Ibid.* The only ravine that fits the description is the site of Boulder Lake Reservoir No. 7. From the ridge, at elevation 7,950 ft., the author observed the high peaks and made a tentative identification of Gannett Peak (13,804 ft.) as well as Fremont Peak (13,744 ft.). From this perspective, the latter could be regarded (in line with Frémont's assessment) as the tallest summit.
7. *Ibid.*, pp. 255-256. Map 2 shows the route descending the ridge to the north and then turning sharply to the west. Perhaps Frémont's purpose was to examine the prospects for circling around the east end of the lake. In short, he would have concluded that this eastern route, which in fact would have been a good way up Boulder Creek, was too indirect. Frémont reported that the lake was about three miles long, a slight underestimate. He also characterized it as being of very irregular width, which would have seemed to be the case at its western end, where a narrow spit juts out into the water. Preuss also mentioned the distant snow peaks that can be seen from the west end of Boulder Lake; he referred to the steep slopes to the north and south of the lake, which are about 700 feet high (or somewhat more), in line with his estimate. Gudde, *Exploring with Frémont*, p. 37.
8. Jackson and Spence, *Expeditions with John Charles Frémont*, p. 256. Preuss wrote that, having dismounted, he forded the stream (he called it the third New Fork) with water up to his belly. Gudde, *Exploring with Frémont*, p. 37. At its deepest point in 1987, though, it was barely knee-deep. The reference to the third New Fork implies familiarity with the Bonneville map of the sources of the Colorado and Big Salt Lake, reproduced in Washington Irving, *The Adventures of Captain Bonneville* (New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1898; reprint ed., Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1961), p. 154, which labels and portrays the New Fork and its branches quite well (the first two branches being the East Fork River and Silver Creek); note also, on the map, the good representation of Fremont Butte. Gudde's mention of the river which empties "into" the lake, rather than "out of" the lake, misinterprets the diarist's barely legible script; the manuscript, in the Library of Congress, appears to read, "Der Fluss . . . der sich aus dem See ergiesst . . ."
9. Most of the terrain is covered with sagebrush, so the patch of trees stands out. The Bureau of Land Management has placed a small campground there. Frémont erred in identifying the trees as beeches, rather than the aspens mentioned by Preuss. Jackson and Spence, *Expeditions of John Charles Frémont*, p. 259; and Gudde, *Exploring with Frémont*, p. 37. The wild garlic reported by Preuss is no longer evident, perhaps because of the change in water level.
10. Frémont's information about the Indians may have come from Irving, who places the Blackfoot tribes on the southern branches of the Yellowstone and Missouri. Irving, *Bonneville*, p. 51. This area, as drawn on the Irving map, note 8 above, is the "pass at the north end of the mountain" that Frémont regarded as "generally infested by Blackfeet." Jackson and Spence, *Expeditions of John Charles Frémont*, p. 259. None of the Indians identified by Irving as being Blackfeet are recorded in the Wind River Mountains, but Irving's hostile "Gros Ventre of the Prairies" (the Atsinas) were known to pass through the area occasionally on visits to their probable kinsmen, the Arapahoes. Irving, *Bonneville*, p. 51. They were sometimes regarded as a band of Blackfeet. Col. H. Dodge, *Report on the Expedition of Dragons to the Rocky Mountains in 1835*, quoted in Z. Gussow, *Arapaho-Cheyenne Indians* (New York, 1974), p. 71. As late as 1860, visitors continued to be apprehensive about the presence of "Blackfeet" west of the Wind Rivers. See U.S. Congress, Senate, W. F. Reynolds, *Report on the Exploration of the Yellowstone River*, S. Rep. 77, 40th Cong., 1st Sess., 1868, p. 93.
11. Nine of the party can be identified—Frémont, Carson, Preuss, Maxwell, Basil Lajeunesse, Clément Lambert, Honoré Ayot, Auguste Janisse and Descoteaux. Jackson and Spence, *Expeditions of John Charles Frémont*, pp. 266-267.
12. The ridge would have been a good approach to the mountains. Out-fitter Otis Skinner is among those who believe the party followed that route. Personal communication with Otis Skinner. But this would have seemed circuitous to Frémont. He chose to make a beeline toward Fremont Peak, which he had seen from the south side of Boulder Lake and which was again visible once he had ridden up the ridge north of the lake. Moreover, the hypothetical ridgetop route cannot be reconciled with the written record.
13. Jackson and Spence, *Expeditions of John Charles Frémont*, p. 256; U.S.G.S. Boulder Lake and Fayette Lake Quadrangles. The sight and sound of waterfalls, from the unmapped road 400 yards to the south, is as described by Frémont. The road does not appear on the 1964 Boulder Lake map.
14. Camp at Boulder Lake was at 7,300 ft. above sea level. The Timico Lake Trail starts at Meadow Lake, at 7,900 ft. Belford Lake is at 9,600 ft. To the north lies a small lake at 9,155 ft., which feeds into Junction Lake at 9,048 ft. Belford Lake is actually separated from the others by a low ridge. The author did not personally examine the route from Meadow Lake to Junction Lake; it is suggested, though, that the small hill (9,640 ft.) on the west side of Belford Lake would offer the view precisely as described. Jackson and Spence, *Expeditions of John Charles Frémont*, pp. 259-260; Fayette Lake Quadrangle.
15. The author was unable to ford Pole Creek by foot from the north side, but it might prove to be more practicable for a mounted party. Neither Frémont nor Preuss mentioned any particular difficulty getting across. Another problematic point is that the shore of Junction Lake is a steep, rocky hillside—not the pretty place to rest described in the official report. Frémont noted some floating willows freshly barked by beavers. He also referred to "small brown squirrels" (red squirrels) jumping about in the pines and mallard ducks swimming in the stream. Barrow's goldeneyes can be observed there nowadays and well may have been the ducks that Frémont saw. Jackson and Spence, *Expeditions of John Charles Frémont*, p. 260; Gudde, *Exploring with Frémont*, p. 39.

16. An investigation of practicable stock routes from Pole Creek to the ridgetop is needed. Whatever way Frémont went, his description of the view precisely matches the vista from the 9,600-foot contour overlooking the north end of Junction Lake. U.S.G.S. Fayette Lake Quadrangle; Jackson and Spence, *Expeditions of John Charles Frémont*, p. 260. At the lookout, Fremont Peak is blocked by Mt. Lester.
17. U.S.G.S. Bridger Lakes Quadrangle; Jackson and Spence, *Expeditions of John Charles Frémont*, p. 261.
18. Ibid.
19. U.S.G.S. Bridger Lakes Quadrangle; Jackson and Spence, *Expeditions of John Charles Frémont*, pp. 261-264 (which erroneously identified this plate as the 1843 report's frontispiece). The drawing is a fair representation of the view, with the rampart from Mt. Helen to Fremont Peak on the right and a slightly lower peak (Mt. Woodrow Wilson) in the center. Note, also, the low ridge in the middle distance—the spur that the party would have to climb before reaching Island Lake. It appears that Preuss was the draftsman, as Frémont gave him credit for making “topographical sketches.” Gudde, *Exploring with Frémont*, p. xxiv, note 5.
20. U.S.G.S. Bridger Lakes Quadrangle; Jackson and Spence, *Expeditions of John Charles Frémont*, p. 262. The party dropped 500 feet from Lester Pass, roughly on today's Highline Trail, then regained nearly as much elevation while scrambling north, over the rocky spur, then descending 600 feet or so, to the southern tip of Island Lake. When an official route selection is made, the Continental Divide National Scenic Trail is expected to track Frémont's route on the hillside below Lester Pass. The spur ridge is rocky and steep, though not the jumble that the expedition report indicated.
- One might suppose that the “few men” left in charge of the mules were four in number, since four men who had been with the animals are reported later to have relieved those who accompanied Lajeunesse to pick up supplies on August 14. Jackson and Spence, *Expeditions of John Charles Frémont*, pp. 262, 266. But, if eight men switched off, and there were a total of fifteen in the party, see note 11 above, that would have left only seven others. Yet we know of nine who did not trade places: Lajeunesse, who rode both ways; Carson, Preuss and Janisse, who were busy climbing; Frémont himself, with whom remained Maxwell and Ayot; and Lambert and Descoteaux, who had been taken ill, but who remained in camp and joined the climb the next day. Jackson and Spence, *Expeditions of John Charles Frémont*, pp. 265-267. The arithmetic would work out if the switch was three for three instead of four for four; there is evidence that this was the case, as Preuss wrote that the animals were left “under the guard of three men.” Gudde, *Exploring with Frémont*, p. 40.
21. U.S.G.S. Bridger Lakes Quadrangle; Jackson and Spence, *Expeditions of John Charles Frémont*, pp. 263-268. Island Lake had previously been visited by members of Sir William Stewart's party in 1837, as shown by the sketches of Alfred Jacob Miller. Some of these portray the lake, with the Mt. Helen-Fremont Peak mass beyond, with sufficient fidelity to place the artist on the spot. Besides Ross, *West of Miller*, pl. 104, n. 4 above, see “Lake, Wind River, Chain of Mountains,” in Larry Curry, *The American West* (New York: Viking Press, Inc., 1972), pl. 2 (catalogue raisonnée 211 in Tyler, *Alfred Jacob Miller*). The latter includes a massive snow-covered peak in the distance—which may be only a flight of imagination, but on the other hand might demonstrate awareness that Gannett Peak lay to the north. See note 29.

One of Stewart's men was Francois Lajeunesse, whose brother Basil was a member of Frémont's party. Francois may have passed on information about Island Lake and vicinity, but nothing about the climbs. On this point, we have Miller's note (accompanying pl. 104 in Ross) that “we wanted to go to the tops of the glittering peaks above us. The truth is the Sirens were singing to us, and very like fools we were listening too. At last a strong practical voice placed a veto on the project, and if Ulysses in Sicily could have possessed himself of the same determined will, he need not have filled his sailors' ears with wax.”

It has been suggested that the “Central Chain” plate represents

the Cirque of the Towers behind Dads Lake. Orrin H. and Lorraine Bonney, *Guide to the Wyoming Mountains and Wilderness Areas* (Denver: Sage Books, 1960). That cannot be, though, because the 1842 expedition never was near that part of the range. The probable explanation is that the field drawing was made (by Preuss) as soon as Frémont reached Island Lake, and before he became ill. That was either about 4:00 p.m., or as early as 11:00 a.m., or some time in between. Jackson and Spence, *Expeditions of John Charles Frémont*, p. 263; Gudde, *Exploring with Frémont*, p. 40. Since they had hopes of making the climb of Fremont Peak the same day, the earlier hour is probably closer to the mark. Two landmarks can be used for orientation—the island and, to its left, the faintly drawn waterfall. If these are accurate, the “Central Chain” is a view due east from the west side of Island Lake (half a mile from its southern tip). The conical peaks are a fantastic representation of Knife Point Mountain on the Continental Divide. U.S.G.S. Bridger Lakes and Fremont Peak South Quadrangles. Alfred Jacob Miller seems to have been similarly inspired, in the “Pipe of Peace at the Rendezvous,” Tyler 33 (catalogue raisonnée 170A).

22. U.S.G.S. Bridger Lakes Quadrangle; Jackson and Spence, *Expeditions of John Charles Frémont*, pp. 263-265. The route past the sandy beach moves about 300 yards back from the shore, to bypass the headland that abuts the lake. The elevation of Island Lake is actually 10,346 feet, it is at timberline, as noted by Frémont. The editors describe the route between Boulder Lake and Island Lake as “still conjectural.” So far as is known, the present discussion marks the first effort to locate this route in detail.

Frémont identified the small animal as the “Siberian squirrel,” an allusion to the pika's extensive range; the pika is closely related to the rabbits and hares, not to squirrels or other rodents. See U.S. Congress, House, *Reports of Explorations and Surveys* (Pacific Railroad Surveys), House Report 91, VIII:618, 33rd Congress, 2nd Sess., 1857. The pipit is “like a sparrow,” but with a thinner bill; it is the commonest bird above timberline in the Wind Rivers. The other candidate is the more furtive white-crowned sparrow; it is not merely “like” a sparrow, but is a characteristic member of the finch family. Parry's primroses and shootingstars are members of the same family, *Primulaceae*. The former were not recognized and described in the scientific literature until 1862, so it is hardly surprising that the specimens were assumed to be shootingstars. A good popular account of the natural history of Island Lake appears in Lydia June, “A Trip to the Wind River Range,” *Appalachia*, 42 (new ser.) (December 15, 1979): 118-126.

Frémont himself was not well educated in botanical matters. According to Preuss, Frémont “knows nothing about mineralogy or botany. Yet he collects every trifle in order to have it interpreted later in Washington and to brag about it in his report.” Gudde, *Exploring with Frémont*, p. 35. In fact, Frémont quite freely disavowed any scientific knowledge about his specimens, writing in this regard to John Torrey, on March 11, 1843, that he would “claim no other credit that what may be due to having collected them under circumstances of considerable hardship and privation.” Jackson and Spence, *Expeditions of John Charles Frémont*, p. 161.

23. U.S.G.S. Bridger Lakes and Fremont Peak South Quadrangles; Jackson and Spence, *Expeditions of John Charles Frémont*, pp. 265-266; Gudde, *Exploring with Frémont*, pp. 41-43. For recent accounts of the climbers' route, see descriptions of the South Face in Bonney, *Guide to Wyoming Mountains*, p. 114, and Joe Kelsey, *Climbing and Hiking in the Wind River Mountains* (San Francisco: 1980), p. 198. According to these writers, a summit attempt on this route should be undertaken by climbers with experience in rope technique and belaying. Compare the efforts of Preuss to walk along the upper edge of an ice field with Kelsey's advice to cross the upper part of the snow couloir that is the most conspicuous feature of the south face. Note also that Carson (and Janisse) had climbed to a ridge where they found “so much hard snow on the other side that (Janisse) did not want to chance carrying the barometer.” Gudde, *Exploring with Frémont*, p. 42. Bonney characterized the same place, on the Continen-

tal Divide, as having a large "gully (hard snow) to the E, which drops steeply from summit."

Frémont became ill upon reaching Island Lake on August 13 and continued so until late in the night, with violent headache and vomiting. He reported the same symptoms on the climb the next day, becoming better toward sundown after descending to Island Lake again. Jackson and Spence, *Expeditions of John Charles Frémont*, pp. 263-266. "Rapid ascent by unacclimatized persons to altitudes in excess of 8,000 feet results in symptoms known as acute mountain sickness . . . Headache is frequent, may be severe, and may be accompanied by loss of appetite, nausea, and vomiting . . . Symptoms usually disappear within 24 to 48 hours after arrival at a high altitude." James A. Wilkerson, ed., *Medicine for Mountaineering* (Seattle, Washington: 1967), p. 114.

24. U.S.G.S. Bridger Lakes Quadrangle; Jackson and Spence, *Expeditions of John Charles Frémont*, p. 267. Frémont's climb from Island Lake to Mt. Woodrow Wilson is analyzed in detail in Bonney, *Guide to Wyoming Mountains*, pp. 98-99. Curiously, Kelsey rejected the Bonney view and had Frémont ascend Fremont Peak instead. Kelsey, *Climbing in Wind River Mountains*, p. 57. The author agrees with Bonney. The "serated line of cones" refers to the cliffs of Fremont Peak, Mt. Sacagawea and Mt. Helen that rise 3,000 feet above the valley.
25. U.S.G.S. Gannett Peak Quadrangle; Jackson and Spence, *Expeditions of John Charles Frémont*, p. 269; Gudde, *Exploring with Frémont*, p. 44. Dinwoody Pass is also known as Bonney Pass.
26. Jackson and Spence, *Expeditions of John Charles Frémont*, pp. 269-272.
27. The line of sight to Gannett Peak is approximately 3 degrees above the horizontal (tangent = .05). See the photograph of Mt. Woodrow Wilson (13,502 ft.) and Gannett Peak (13,804 ft.), as viewed by the author from the summit of Mt. Dinwoody (13,480+ ft.). Also see the aerial view up Titcomb Valley toward Gannett Peak, with Mt. Woodrow Wilson just to its left, in Russell Lamb, *Wyoming* (Portland, Oregon: Charles H. Belding, Graphic Arts Center, 1978), p. 80. Frémont's claims are characterized only as "incautious," with no suggestion of falsehood. Jackson and Spence, *Expeditions of John Charles Frémont*, p. 271, note 73. Bonney also gave Frémont the benefit of doubt ("by eye alone, it is doubtful if he could have determined otherwise"). Bonney, *Guide to Wyoming Mountains*, p. 31. Had Frémont even mentioned Gannett and speculated about its elevation, his candor could be accepted; but his complete silence on the subject implies an intention to misrepresent.
28. Gudde, *Exploring with Frémont*, p. 45.
29. "When approached from the south (as Frémont did), Mt. Woodrow Wilson hides all or most of Gannett. Even where the viewpoint shows both summits, they blend together so perfectly to appear as one unless a person has actual previous knowledge of the situation." Bonney, *Guide to Wyoming Mountains*, p. 31.
30. The Gudde translation has Frémont aim for the base of "the next highest peak," i.e., one not so high as Fremont Peak. Gudde, *Exploring with Frémont*, p. 43. The original manuscript seems to refer, though, to the "Fuss der letzten höchsten Spitze."
31. Jackson and Spence, *Expeditions of John Charles Frémont*, p. 272.

32. *Ibid.*, pp. 272-273. Frémont referred to passing "the place where our animals had been left, when we first attempted the mountains on foot," thus fixing the route via Lester Pass. See also Gudde, *Exploring with Frémont*, p. 45. Preuss there complained about the "confusion of rocks and small lakes" that slowed them down in the morning; the rockiest place was probably the descent toward Little Seneca Lake, while the little lakes lie along the Highline Trail as it rises to Lester Pass. U.S.G.S. Bridger Lakes Quadrangle.
33. The only evidence of the postulated return route appears in the expedition map. Jackson and Spence, *Expeditions of John Charles Frémont*, Map Portfolio, Map 2. The faintly-drawn approach route climbs from the Boulder Lake campsite to the deep basin of Junction Lake. Note the second faint dashed line, a bit farther west, that also connects with Boulder Lake. It skirts another small body of water, not mentioned in the text, but apparently Half Moon Lake. In other words, the party descended close to today's Sweeney Creek Trail, crossing the outlet of Pole Creek (an easy ford) at the northeast corner of Half Moon Lake. U.S.G.S. Fayette Lake Quadrangle. The omission of Pole Creek from the Preuss map is inexplicable.
34. Jackson and Spence, *Expeditions of John Charles Frémont*, p. 273. The wagon road crossed the Divide at or close to the northwest corner of T 28N, R 102W, Section 14, at the latitude reported by Frémont. This is three miles northwest of Wyoming Highway 28. See U.S.G.S. Anderson Ridge Quadrangle. The ruts were those of the fur trade—several miles north of what became the original Oregon Trail. The first vehicles to pass this way were the twenty wagons of trade goods which Captain Benjamin Bonneville drove west to the Green River (near present Daniel, Wyoming), in 1832. Irving, *Bonneville*, pp. 16, 45-46. In 1836, the Whitman-Spalding party, with the first white women to cross the Rockies, brought two light wagons (and hundreds of animals) over the same route. Bernard DeVoto, *Across the Wide Missouri* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1947), pp. 244-246. The largest wheeled caravan seems to have been the American Fur Company expedition of 1837; the sketches of Alfred Jacob Miller show the numerous wagons and carts that traveled to the rendezvous in the Daniel area. Louise Barry, *The Beginning of the West* (Topeka: Kansas State Historical Society, 1972), p. 323; DeVoto, *Across the Wide Missouri*, pp. 310, 321, 441; Ross, *West of Miller*, pl. 142. The 1839 rendezvous, again near Daniel, attracted as few as four two-wheeled carts as well as 50 to 60 pack animals. F. A. Wislizenus, *A Journey to the Rocky Mountains in the Year 1839* (St. Louis: Missouri Historical Society, 1912), pp. 29, 88. But in 1840 a larger caravan followed the same track, with thirty carts as well as the four wagons of Oregon-bound families. Barry, *Beginning of the West*, p. 392. Despite this traffic, the roadway may have been faint—only the year before Frémont's expedition, a pioneer emigrant found the tracks near South Pass to have been "generally obliterated and thus of no service," John Bidwell, *Echoes of the Past* (Chicago, 1928), p. 34.
35. The historical record documents the scarcity of bison in the area visited by the expedition during the preceding ten days. Moss, *Early Man*, p. 32.

WYOMING'S OUTLAW BROTHERS

*by Jim Dullenty and
Mary Stoner Hadley*

September 11, 1911, was a bit warmer than Cokeville, Wyoming, residents had a right to expect that late in the summer, but otherwise life in the remote little community continued its normal, placid pace. If there was a tenseness among a few of the residents it was not apparent to the great majority.

It is not likely that young Gene (Imogene) Collett would have had any foreboding; she had other things on her mind. But September 11, 1911, was a day Gene would never forget.

From a prominent ranching family near Cokeville, Gene was a clerk in the Cokeville Mercantile Co. store, owned by Ben H. Smalley. It was Gene's job every day about 3 p.m. to walk a couple of blocks straight down the street and deposit the day's receipts in the State Bank of Cokeville.

Smalley always made sure he was in the store when Gene walked to the bank so he could wait on customers. September 11 was no different as Gene took the money bag and headed for the bank.

She may have been lost in her thoughts as she walked because much was happening in Gene's life. She was being "sporting" by Roscoe Stoner, certainly the most eligible bachelor in town. He was son of Cokeville's founder, the late John W. Stoner, and Roscoe had inherited his father's large ranch and other business interests. In fact, among those interests was the other mercantile in town, the Stoner Mercantile Company.

At one time old penny-pinching John Stoner owned all of the land where Cokeville was built. He was a small, cocky man, who was not very well liked by the settlers who began moving in after he had established a store-trading post at what is now Cokeville. But John Stoner had gotten there before any of them.

Gene could not have known of the devils that haunted young Roscoe, that would drive him to hard drink and alcoholism and a horrible death. At this point, Roscoe was considered a playboy, a roustabout, even a ne'er-do-well—but he was Roscoe Stoner, the richest young man in town. Gene may have also heard the stories of scandal in the Stoner family, that old Abe Stoner, John's brother, was in cahoots with outlaw Butch Cassidy and had served time in prison. She did know Abe drank a lot and had been abandoned by his wife.

But this was 1911, and Cassidy had not been heard from in years. Stories reached Cokeville that he had died in South America, but many did not believe it. John W. Stoner had died during a visit to his family home in Ringold, Maryland, in December, 1907. Abe died three years later in Cokeville. The new generation of Stoners appeared to be a hard-working, law-abiding bunch.

As for Roscoe, though he was known as a woman-chaser, young Gene Collett considered that one more challenge. It was not until after they were married that she learned of an even greater problem, just how tied he was to his mother's apron strings. He was a mama's boy who

could never quite live up to the reputation his hard-driving father had established in little Cokeville.

If Gene was daydreaming that could be expected. She had done this so often she probably never took note of the State Bank of Cokeville, housed in one of the least-imposing buildings in town. The one-story structure had a white board false front, the type so often used as backdrops in western movies.

Gene walked through the door and her heart jumped. There was a strange silence in the room and she quickly understood what was happening. Two cowboys, their six-shooters drawn, had all of the customers and bank employees lined up against the wall. She did not have time to consider that she was the only woman in the bank.

It had been a busy day at the store and there was several hundred dollars in cash in her receipt bag. She thought of that and then it occurred to her she knew the bank robbers! In fact, everyone in town knew them. They were not wearing masks.

The one she knew best was Charlie Whitney, who lived in Cokeville. The other was his brother, Hugh, who was considered a major outlaw, especially after that killing on the train earlier that summer. Hugh's exploits had received tremendous press attention elevating him to

celebrity status and here he was in the flesh. Just as the notion struck her that the Whitney brothers were doing the very thing everyone said they would do, Hugh brusquely motioned for her to give him her bag.

"Nothing doing," Charlie interjected. "We are not robbin' women. Let 'er go."

Hugh quickly pulled back and searching the businessmen lined against the wall spotted a cigar in the pocket of saloon-owner Earl Haggerty. He grabbed the cigar and jammed it into the young woman's mouth.

"All right, that will keep yer mouth shut; now get out of here and let us finish," Hugh commanded.

Gene was only too happy to comply and walked out the door. With her went the largest cache the Whitneys could have taken that day. She breathed deeply and rushed to the Cokeville Mercantile store. She did not speak to anyone on the way nor did she sound the alarm.

She dashed into the store and threw the money bag on the counter. Smalley, astonished, asked "what's the matter? Why didn't you deposit the money?"

"Because they're robbing the bank," was Gene Collett's simple, matter-of-fact reply.¹

For years people recalled this incident when telling the story of the bank robbery. It always brought a laugh. Other versions were told, including one that Hugh took Gene's money and then told her to go to a nearby drugstore to wait until the robbery was completed. Dorothy Somsen, daughter of Ben Smalley, said Gene took the money back to the store.

The Whitney brothers escaped and were not caught. The bank robbery was the biggest event in the history of Cokeville. It was also the highwater mark of the Whitney boys' outlaw career. Although before and after the robbery all sorts of nefarious activities were attributed to the Whitneys, very little has been confirmed. They were outlaws for only a short time. What makes their story so unusual is what happened following the robbery.

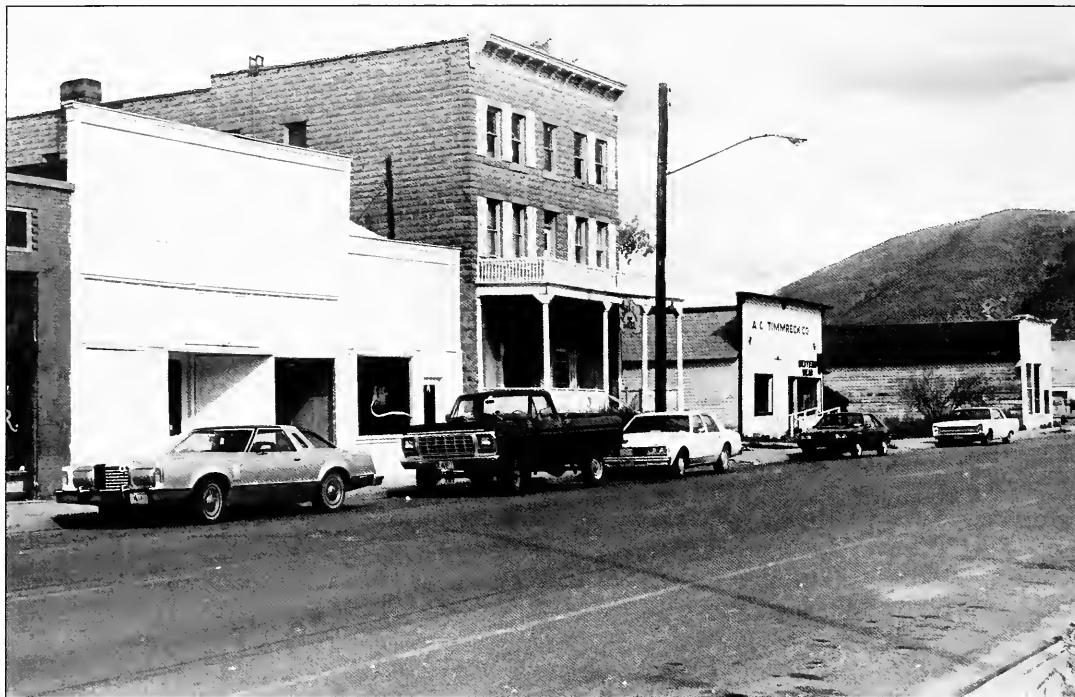
The story did not end until June 19, 1952, when Charlie Whitney surrendered to the governor of Wyoming. That made him the last Old West outlaw. His emotional written confession is one of the most unusual documents in American outlaw history.

The focus of the Whitney story was Cokeville, the remote community nestled in the hills near the Idaho-Wyoming border which in its early years was dominated by the Stoner family. The history of the Stoners and Whitneys became intertwined. Younger members of both families were caught in a complex web of outlawry that spread over the Cokeville area starting about the turn of the century.

The rugged country around Cokeville provided excellent hideouts and outlaws could be easily supplied from town. Butch Cassidy frequented the place and his old prison pal, Abraham "Rocky" Stoner, became the "bank" for the Wild Bunch. Stoner's role as "bank" for Cassidy was revealed in 1977 when a 1934 manuscript written by William T. Phillips of Spokane was published. Phillips



Abraham "Rocky" Stoner served two sentences in the Wyoming penitentiary and was the father of Clarence Stoner.



Street scene of Cokeville in 1981. The bank the Whitneys robbed is the small false-front frame building (center right). At the time the photograph was taken it was a saddle shop.

claimed to be Cassidy. Even if he was not, he knew intimate details of Cassidy's life—details which have since been confirmed by research. The Phillips manuscript was the first indication these two men knew each other. Subsequent research disclosed that Stoner was in the Wyoming territorial penitentiary in about 1886 and then from 1893 to 1897; Cassidy served from 1894 to 1896.²

However, Abe Stoner was not a major outlaw and his relationship with Cassidy was kept hushed. After a bank or train robbery, Cassidy would "deposit" the loot with Stoner and come back later to get it. Since most of Cokeville knew of this arrangement it is probable that brother John also knew.

Stoner genealogy has been traced to 1340 in Bavaria when the name was Von Steiner. After the family came to America, they changed the name to Stoner and settled in the Leitersburg District of Pennsylvania as early as 1744. When the Mason-Dixon dispute shifted the state lines of Pennsylvania and Maryland, the Stoner property came within the Ringold District of Maryland.³ The 1850 census shows a John Stoner, 43, married to Mary McFerran. Their eight children included John W., 13, and Abraham 6, both later of Cokeville fame.⁴

The Stoners, with their big plantation and slaves, were considered wealthy. But the family was divided as were

many families prior to the Civil War. The older Stoners favored slavery and the Confederacy. As a result, Union soldiers in the Civil War ravished the plantation killing two Stoner girls.⁵ But the younger Stoners, among them John and Abraham, were involved in the underground railroad. Their activities in helping slaves reach the North brought them into conflict with their neighbors and both boys decided to leave home. John W. left in 1861, taking the Isthmus of Panama route to California. He was soon followed by Abraham who went overland. Two other brothers landed in Kansas and three nephews went west to what is now Cokeville.⁶

By 1865, John was in Montana where he took up mining. In 1877, he moved to Soda Springs, Idaho. A few months there and he settled in what is now Cokeville. He started a trading post in 1878 and that began Cokeville.⁷ The original store is still standing along with many other buildings of the old John W. Stoner ranch.

In 1892, Stoner returned to Maryland for a girl whose parents he had known, Nannie Fogler. On April 5, 1892, John and Nannie were married in Smithsburg, Maryland. They produced two children, Roscoe F., born May 15, 1893, and Sarah, born February 9, 1896.⁸

By 1880, Abe (known as "Rocky") was living as a bachelor on Sublette Creek near Cokeville. He went into

sheep ranching with his brother. But Abe could not stand John for long and soon went on his own, usually working for others. John was considered something of a shyster; he loaned money and then foreclosed.

Family records indicate Abe may have married a woman named Sarah in Cokeville but nothing is known of her nor what happened to her. In 1882, Abe married Mary Ella Whitney in Paris, Idaho.⁹ This brought the Stoner and Whitney clans together. Abe and Mary Ella had three children, Clarence A., born 1883, and Guy and Grace. Clarence later figured in Cokeville's outlaw history when he robbed a train in Oregon. Although his father was not a major outlaw, Abe drank a lot and got into trouble (the family is not sure what it was) which landed him in the Wyoming penitentiary in 1886.

Abe was serving his second term, for horse theft, when he was with Cassidy in the Wyoming penitentiary. Eventually, Mary Ella left him and Abe spent his last years drinking and living alone. He died midway in his trial for theft of several bales of wool in 1910.¹⁰

Mary Ella Whitney had a tough life before she married hard-drinking Abe. Born in 1860 in Bangor, Maine, to Timothy and Avis Douglas Whitney,¹¹ she moved with the family to Wautoma, Wisconsin, where they were living by

1870. Timothy died there in 1873.¹² Avis and her children then headed west in a wagon, landing in Indian Valley near Weiser, Idaho.¹³

Mary Ella's brother, Fred, was father of Hugh and Charlie Whitney. The Whitney brothers grew up mostly in Weiser but the family moved a lot. According to Charlie, the growing up years were painful. Their tyrant of a father beat them and gave them only the barest necessities.¹⁴

Lewis H. Daniels said he knew Hugh Whitney during his younger days around Council and Brownlee Creek, Idaho, and Brownlee, Oregon. Much of this area is now covered by Brownlee Reservoir. Daniels said that in 1908, the Whitney family, consisting of "Ma and Pa Whitney" and eight children, moved to Council. Pa Whitney worked at various jobs and was county road commissioner. Whitney wore red wool longjohns the year around. In winter, he wore a shirt and pants but in summer he shed the outer garments and wore just the longjohns.¹⁵

As boys, Hugh and Charlie worked on sheep ranches. By 1907, they were ready to leave and in March of that year they collected their wages and headed for Cokeville where they had relatives.¹⁶ The two brothers worked for Pete W. Olsen, who owned one of the biggest ranches near Cokeville and it was there their troubles began. One story is



(l to r) Hugh Whitney, Charlie Whitney and Clarence Stoner before the Whitney's robbed the Cokeville bank in 1911.

that Hugh made Olsen angry because he herded the sheep with his pistol or rifle and occasionally maimed or killed an animal.

This habit got to be too much for Ezra Christiansen, Olsen's foreman, who fired the boys. They stayed at the ranch waiting for Olsen to return from a trip to Evanston. When he arrived two days later, he refused to reinstate them, docked their wages for the damage and told them to leave. Another story is that Hugh became involved in a scheme to collect stray sheep, change the brands and earmarks to match Olsen's and split the profit with the owner. But after it was done and it was time for Olsen to pay up, the rancher denied he had been part of the plan and refused to split anything. He gave the two Whitneys their wages and told them to hit the trail.

Hugh Whitney was at a disadvantage because of a poker game fracas in which he was suspected of robbing the players of a local saloon. He had no choice but to leave Olsen's ranch.

The Whitneys left vowing to shoot Olsen on sight. They returned to the range to get their equipment where they spotted Christiansen. Beating him unmercifully, they left him for dead. Hugh snapped off a shot with his pistol killing one of Olsen's prize rams.¹⁷ A 1914 Salt Lake newspaper account says this fight was between Hugh and Christiansen and that it occurred in June, 1910, in Cokeville. According to that account, Hugh knocked Christiansen down whose head struck a rail knocking him unconscious for eighteen hours.¹⁸

From other evidence it appears that Hugh and Charlie were discharged at Olsen's in 1909. Hugh then went to work at the Green River Livestock Company in Rock Springs. He returned to Cokeville and asserted that Christiansen had sent word to the foreman of the Green River company that Whitney ought to be discharged. He was, and then worked for the Beckwith-Quinn Company where Christiansen again tried to get him fired. Whitney sent word to his tormentor that if he did not stop talking about him, he would thrash him at the first opportunity. According to these accounts, this is when Hugh's fight with Christiansen occurred.¹⁹

Deputy Sheriff Dan Hanson tracked Hugh to Green River, arrested him and returned him to Cokeville to be charged with the assault on Christiansen. There was no jail in Cokeville, so Whitney was confined in Frank Mau's saloon. But Whitney escaped. While absent he was tried and convicted of the assault and fined \$50 and sentenced to 60 days in jail. He returned later and got off by paying \$35. He then went to Oregon where he was joined by his brother. They returned to Cokeville in April, 1911,²⁰ which set the stage for the next dramatic developments in Hugh Whitney's life.

There is no question the Whitneys and Olsen became bitter enemies and the rancher blackballed the brothers from working on nearby ranches. It was difficult for the two boys to find honest work so they were forced to resort to dishonest means. Charlie Whitney, however, blamed

Hugh's entry into outlawry on one Charles Manning. To his dying day, Charlie was bitter about Manning's role in their lives. Though Charlie mentioned Manning in his confession, he said nothing about Manning who is one of the great mysteries of Wyoming outlawry. There is little doubt he was an outlaw on par with Hugh Whitney but much less is known of him.

Fannie Chamberlain, a Cokeville old-timer, told an interviewer in 1976 that Manning came to Cokeville as a young man and worked for her father at a cement plant.²¹ A relative by marriage said Manning arrived in Wyoming in 1900.²²

Family records indicate Manning was born in Pass Christian, Mississippi, and since his gravestone said he was born on December 25, 1881, he would have been 19 when he arrived in Cokeville. Originally, the Manning family is thought to have moved to Pass Christian from Huntsville, Alabama, following the Civil War.²³ In 1905, Manning married Louella Stoffers and they had four children.²⁴ After she was widowed, she and the children continued to live in Cokeville for many years.

A photo shows that young Manning was strikingly handsome. He appeared noticeably well-dressed, even modern looking and certainly he would have been noticed in a small place like Cokeville. He is remembered for his sartorial splendor as well as for his quiet, charming personality. But though he was noticed, few knew much about him. By 1910, as old-timers put it, he no longer worked. He was then a full-time gambler in local saloons. And everyone believed he was an outlaw on the side.

Manning's good looks and charm impressed people and neighbors recalled he had "no bad habits" and was a fine family man.²⁵ A photo of him taken shortly before 1914 showed he had put on weight and was smoking a cigar. Loyd Nelson, a Cokeville native, remembers that his folks and the Mannings were friends and Leo Manning, Charley's son, was Loyd's best friend.

Loyd's mother was at the Manning home and noticed a grandfather clock on the mantle. Mrs. Manning asked her to fix it. So Mrs. Nelson opened it and found it stuffed with money—that's why it would not run. She never said anything. She just put the money back.²⁶

Manning would disappear for a few days and Cokeville residents would read of a bank or train holdup in Idaho or Utah. And then Charley would return. Most Cokeville old-timers believed he was closely associated with the Whitneys and helped them "terrorize" communities along the Oregon Short Line Railroad for a number of years. But exactly how they "terrorized" these communities is not revealed. Robert Rose, who knew Manning, said he and the Whitneys may have robbed several banks in "out-of-the-way places and one in Montpelier, Idaho." None of this has been confirmed.

Rose told of an incident in which Manning, unmasked and with no effort to conceal his identity, rode into a sheep-shearing camp at Opal, Wyoming, one spring day and found a poker game in progress. Manning passed around



Charley Manning, the handsome gambler-outlaw, killed in the Oregon train robbery, who for years was believed to be an outlaw headquartered at Cokeville.

a bottle of whiskey, though he never drank himself, and then relieved the players of their change. He backed out of the place with a little more than a thousand dollars in his pocket. Manning's reputation was such that those in the camp did not want to follow him, Rose said.²⁷

One writer said Manning was a "renegade from the Hole-in-the-Wall," the outlaw hideout in north central Wyoming, but this seems unlikely.²⁸ Outlaws stopped using the Hole as a hideout after 1897, when Manning was 16. But there is no doubt that by the time he got to Cokeville, Manning was a bold hombre.

Rose told of the time Manning walked into the lobby of a hotel in Kemmerer a little after midnight and stepped up to the desk demanding of the proprietor, Fred Chapin, "I want \$500." Chapin opened the safe and gave him the money hoping he would consider it a loan. Chapin even offered to give Charley more.

"No, that's all I need," said Manning. A week or so later there was a bank robbery in the upper country and a few nights after, Manning came into the hotel with a broad smile and returned the \$500. Chapin did not tell the story until after Manning's death. And since so few details are known, the story is impossible to confirm.

Cokeville was a haven for several gangs, some of greater and some of lesser importance. One of the lesser gangs was known as the boxcar bandits. These men stole

commodities from boxcars parked at the Cokeville siding. Manning's famous "blue house," visible from the hills above Cokeville, was said to have been painted with paint stolen from the boxcars.²⁹

Two other Cokeville badmen were said to be in this gang, Tex Taylor and Tex Long. But it was Manning who asserted leadership and it was he who snared Hugh Whitney into the deadly game. Hugh apparently learned fast. Rose recalled that one night he walked into Tommie Holland's saloon with a handkerchief tied over part of his face and, pointing a six-shooter at a half dozen men at the poker table, ordered them to put up their hands. A young cowpoke near the culprit, with less judgement than courage, jumped up and pulled the handkerchief from his face. Whitney, his identity revealed, pretended he was playing a joke on his friends. He bought a round of drinks and took a hand in the game. When the game broke up a little before dawn, Whitney had all of the money anyway although it took him several hours longer than he had planned.³⁰

As noted previously, the Whitney boys moved to Oregon where they stayed, apparently out of trouble, for two years. Then in April, 1911, they returned to Cokeville. On June 17, 1911, the name of Hugh Whitney burst upon the West with sudden force and from that time on Whitney was a major outlaw.

Hugh had been working in Idaho and southern Montana with a friend, called variously Albert Ross and Albert F. Sesler. Not much is known of him except that he was an ex-railroader, age 25, possibly from Butler Island, east of Rigby, Idaho.³¹ Hugh and Albert had gone into a pool hall in Monida, Montana, near the Idaho border, with nearly \$400 between them. Hugh liked to play cards but was not known to gamble for high stakes.

It is not clear how they were separated from their money but they awoke the next morning with no money to buy breakfast. So they went into the pool hall, held up the bartender and relieved him of the money they lost. They then walked to the railroad station and bought tickets for Pocatello. It is evident they thought they had committed no great crime or they would not have boarded the train.

The bartender telegraphed ahead to have a deputy sheriff board the train at Spencer, Idaho. The deputy, Sam Milton, and Conductor William Kidd came into the car where Hugh and Albert were playing cards with two traveling men. Milton put them under arrest and removed Hugh's revolver from the holster and laid it across the aisle on a vacant seat.

Then he came at Hugh with handcuffs calling him a "dirty yellow cowardly S.O.B." and other expletives. That was more than Hugh could take, perhaps remembering the abuse of his father. He grabbed his revolver and shot the deputy twice at close range. In the melee, the conductor grabbed Hugh and he too was shot once at close range. Both men slumped to the floor. Kidd was mortally wounded and died that night in a Pocatello hospital. The

deputy recovered but was handicapped the rest of his life. Three passengers were wounded, none seriously.

As the sound of the last shot reverberated inside the car, Hugh pulled the brake cord and stopped the train. He disembarked south of Spencer near Hamer, Idaho. A posse was formed and members sent for bloodhounds at the Montana prison in Deer Lodge. Possemen, however, were reluctant to enter the brush to look for Whitney. Word was sent to Warren Bailey, who owned the grocery store in Hamer, and who was a deputy sheriff, to look for Hugh. Bailey saw a man on foot on the opposite side of a boxcar on the track and he and a couple of others took rifles and ran after the fugitive.

Also in the Hamer store was Edgar McGill, age about 16 years, who took a gun and unhitched a pony from the rail in front of the store and took up the chase, against the objections of Bailey. Undaunted, McGill plunged into the brush but Hugh Whitney found him first and shot him in the shoulder knocking him from the horse. With more courage than sense, McGill raised to fire at the bandit. Whitney put a slug in the youth's leg and told him not to follow.

Whitney borrowed the boy's jacket and mounting the horse, headed east. A reward of \$500 was posted for Whitney and his cohort. Whitney was described as "about 23 years; five feet eight inches; 165 pounds; stocky build; very dark complexion; smooth shaven; dark curly hair which comes down over forehead. He always wears a handkerchief around his neck; does not drink but smokes cigarettes; wears high heel boots with nails in the end of heels."

What became of Albert Ross or Sesler is not known. He disappeared and was never heard from again. Many years later a skeleton was found near Dubois, Idaho, and it was believed to be Sesler's.

Whitney stopped at the McGill residence north of Hamer and bought lunch. He had part of the lunch and some water with him when the posse discovered him. Someone shot through his coat and he dropped the food but escaped. When he reached the Snake River it was at high water and guards were posted at all bridges and ferries. Rube Scott was guarding the bridge near Menan. In the twilight, Hugh rode onto the bridge and Scott stepped out and demanded he halt "and get down off that horse, you dirty yellow coward."

Hugh spurred the horse at a gallop, shooting as he rode. A bullet struck Scott in the right hand taking off his trigger finger. Scott rolled off the bridge and played dead. Whitney rode on without incident. The next day, June 18, 1911, the posse found Whitney's trail east of Rigby in the Willow Creek area. He reached the Fall Creek Ranch in Swan Valley and was given a meal by two bachelors, Ed Daniels and Joe Jones. They had not heard about Whitney, but a few hours after he left the posse arrived.

Hugh took the south side of the river up to the Edwards Ranch and the Edwards boys ferried him across. Hugh then rode to the Ralph Janes' place. Janes and

Whitney had ridden for a cattle ranch near Cokeville. Hugh told Janes of his escape and of his intention to get work near Cokeville where his brother was working at the time. When talking with Janes, Hugh did not realize he had killed anyone. He left, heading for Cokeville.

As soon as he found Charlie, Hugh learned he killed Conductor Kidd. The railroad increased the price on his head to \$1,500.³² Hugh could not work at a ranch so he disappeared, perhaps hiding out at Lake Alice. Hugh also may have visited the Wind River Reservation west of Lander because in recent years old Indians there recalled that Whitney was seen with friends on the reservation.

Hugh stayed hidden the rest of the summer. Charlie probably supplied him. Up to this point, Charlie was not sought by the law and lived in town next door to the Ben H. Smalley residence. Dorothy Somsen, Smalley's daughter, a child at the time, recalled going to Charlie's for condensed milk and strawberry jam. Dorothy never saw Hugh there but she remembers Charlie was very handsome.³³

Though Charlie's life may have seemed innocent to a young girl, he was in the midst of planning the biggest operation of his life. Charlie in his confession does not say how he and Hugh decided to rob the Cokeville bank, but insists "that nefarious crook in Cokeville, Charley Manning, was the cause of my brother's downfall. We were green, ignorant and gullible at the time and easy prey for every confidence man that came along and anyone that knew our background knows the reason why."³⁴

He was referring to his blighted youth but the Whitneys were not as unsophisticated as Charlie indicates. Charlie's confession does not mention the other troubles Hugh got into and in other respects glosses over their early years around Cokeville. No doubt Charley Manning did influence the Whitneys and may have exhorted them to rob the bank. This may have appealed to Hugh because his hated enemy Pete Olsen had large sums of money in the bank.

Some said Manning held the getaway horses in a field just north of the bank. But an account of a couple who saw the Whitneys escape on their horses mentions no one holding the animals.³⁵ And at least one account claims Manning was in the bank when it was robbed.³⁶

According to J. Patrick Wilde, during the first days of September, Charlie disappeared and joined Hugh in hiding. Wilde said on September 6, several persons in Montpelier saw the two and the local newspaper reported it. According to the newspaper account, the brothers the night before robbed the Tom Taylor sheep camp in Salt Canyon. Then the two were seen at the Steward Grocery in Montpelier where they purchased a jug of whiskey, ammunition and a few food items.

Guy Hays, who claimed to know both Whitneys, said he passed them in front of the Capitol Saloon. Marion Perkins, a local freighter, said he passed the two resting in Montpelier Canyon.³⁷ So apparently the two were riding from camp to camp in the mountains between Montpelier and Cokeville.

On September 11 they acted. They left their horses in a field north of Cokeville. At a haystack yard they hid their rifles.³⁸ They walked the short distance to the bank. Some say they entered just after noon and stayed an hour or more. Others put the time nearer 3 p.m. There is no doubt they spent some time in the bank waiting for more customers to show and rob since they got so little from the bank. It was reported later that bank officials suspected they might be robbed so they kept most of their cash in a time-release vault. There also is the story the Whitneys waited for the timer to go off.

This much is known: When they entered the bank, the two Whitneys held up cashier A. D. Noblitt. Noblitt said when he turned around he was looking into the muzzle of a pistol held by one of the bandits. Neither Whitney wore a mask and since everyone in town knew them they must have planned to leave the country forever on the proceeds from this raid. They demanded the bank's money. Noblitt gave them a few dollars from the cash drawer but he said the vault would not open until later.

Disappointed, the two made the cashier and four others line up against the wall and hand over their deposits, jewelry and watches. Then they waited for more customers. As people walked in, each was robbed and told to stand against the wall. In all, fourteen persons were robbed.³⁹

Perhaps to remove suspicion that he was involved, Manning was in the bank making a deposit and shared the fate of the other customers. Before they left, the Whitneys ordered Manning, the cashier and teller into the safe and gagged and tied them. The two shut the door and ran out of the bank. Rose said the Whitneys "gathered up several thousand dollars." But Wilde said the brothers got only \$700 of which \$240 came from the bank and the balance from the customers. Wilde said fourteen customers were put in the vault and the door was closed and barricaded. The *Denver Post* put the take at \$100 from the cashier and \$300 from eleven citizens. A wire dispatch from Cokeville said the total was \$500. Lewis Daniels in his "Snake River Echoes" story said it was \$600. This kind of disparity is typical of bank and train robbery reporting at that time.

The biggest loser was businessman Earl Haggerty who lost a \$250 deposit. But Haggerty was allowed to keep his diamond ring because the Whitneys knew his wife had given it to him and she had befriended them during their sheepherding days.

Even as the brothers fled the bank the customers were getting out of the vault and giving chase. Henry Wyman and his wife were at an upstairs window in their hotel next to the bank and saw the Whitneys on the run. Knowing them, Wyman got his rifle and took careful aim out of the window but his wife begged him not to shoot.⁴⁰

A Mexican, Hernando Morino, was the first person on a horse in pursuit of the outlaws and he wished he had not been. He got too close and when a rifle shot penetrated his hat, he dismounted into an irrigation ditch.⁴¹

Those who began the chase on foot returned to Coke-

ville to organize a posse and that gave the Whitneys a chance. The posses fanned out and one of the biggest manhunts in the West ensued. The Whitneys fled across Collett Flat where they raided Tim Kinney's sheep camp, taking another horse, food and a camping outfit.⁴²

The posse using bloodhounds tracked the two to Lake Alice and lost them.⁴³ The brothers then fled to the Wind River Reservation and rested with friends.⁴⁴ As they remained hidden from view, many robberies were blamed on the pair—but their involvement in any of them has never been confirmed. The next spring horses known to have been used by the Whitneys were sold at Cody and two men boarded an eastbound train. In May, 1912, they were reported in Casper and in June they were said to be back in Star Valley.⁴⁵ But Charlie said they traveled to Wisconsin where they worked in a saddle shop. They then went to Montana where they sought refuge in the Little Rockies.⁴⁶ In his confession, Charlie said in the fall of 1912 he settled near Glasgow and lived there until 1952.

In June, 1912, someone put a note on the gate post at Pete Olsen's ranch saying: "If you want to keep harm from you and your family, put \$1,500 in a can and have Les (a son) leave it by the post near the bridge on Bear River. If not, harm will come to you and you will be the loser." It was signed "Hugh and Charlie Whitney."

Olsen turned the note over to Deputy Dan Hanson and Olsen left for his shearing corrals. Hanson sent word to Sheriff John Ward in Evanston and left to check the Olsen ranch. As he neared the buildings about dusk, he spotted a man lurking near a structure. He called to the man and was answered by two rifle shots, the second of which went through his heart. He was found three hours later by Sheriff Ward.

Hanson lived long enough to give a vague description of his assailant and died in Cokeville. Everyone believed the killer to be Hugh Whitney. The description Hanson gave did not fit. But he could have been mistaken in the approaching dark. People were surprised when two days later Sheriff Ward arrested a drifter-sheepherder named Bert Dalton for the crime. Dalton fit Hanson's description.

Charley Manning was questioned and claimed that Dalton was at a meeting with the Whitneys when the crime was planned. In a signed confession Dalton admitted he met with Hugh and Charlie Whitney back of the school house on the night of June 19, 1912. He said he met them, "just by chance" and they wanted him to hold their horses while they got \$1,500 but they did not say how. But though he waited for them at the appointed place to hold their horses they never showed up.

Dalton escaped the Evanston jail, but was recaptured and changed his story absolving the Whitneys of any blame and said Charles Manning planned the extortion of Pete Olsen and it was Manning who killed Hanson. Ever after Dalton said Manning had done it and the Whitneys were not to blame, although Dalton served a term in the Wyoming prison for the Hanson murder.⁴⁷

At Glasgow, Charlie was known as Frank S. Taylor

and Hugh as George Walter Brown. During World War I, both enlisted using their assumed names, Charlie in the 363rd Infantry of the 91st Division and Hugh in the 23rd Engineers. Both were discharged in 1919.⁴⁸ They returned to ranching in Montana where they were prominent and well-respected. Charlie took part in church activities, served on the school board and was on the board of directors of a bank! Among his friends was Governor John Bonner of Montana.⁴⁹

In 1935, Hugh, as George Walter Brown, sold his holdings and moved to Canada. He died in Saskatoon, Saskatchewan, on October 25, 1950.⁵⁰ In about a month, Charlie learned of his brother's death and that spurred him to set the record straight. Governor Bonner suggested he surrender to Governor Frank Barrett in Wyoming and in a letter to Barrett the Montana governor recommended clemency.

The Wyoming governor, startled by this turn of events, mulled over the situation as Charlie began his journey to Wyoming. On December 1, 1951, he carefully constructed his confession. No more simple eloquence can be found in all outlaw history.

Whitney traveled first to Cokeville and spent the better part of a day walking streets he had known more than 40 years before. As he relived those haunting days of youth, he was shocked by the changes. Gone was the bank they had robbed, closed during the Great Depression. The building remained but was now a store. Main Street was paved. The hitching rails had disappeared. He spoke to no one as he walked the streets of his past and remembered those fateful hours that branded him an outlaw.

Then on June 19, 1952, Frank S. Taylor, 63, appeared before Governor Barrett. The governor assigned the case to the Third District Judge H. Robert Christmas. Whitney gave a tearful plea and volunteered to pay back the full sum of money to the community of Cokeville. After ten days of waiting in jail, Whitney was called before Judge Christmas who gave him five years probation saying "no useful purpose can be served by sending you to the penitentiary."⁵¹

Whitney left immediately for Montana but his hope for peace went unrealized. His surrender and confession made national headlines and he was continually harrassed by newsmen. He traveled a lot, visiting relatives and old friends he had dared not see until his surrender. He died on November 13, 1968, in Hot Springs, Montana, and is buried in the Whitefish, Montana, cemetery.⁵²

When Charley Manning learned that the Whitneys were in Wisconsin in the summer of 1912, he tried to blackmail them, threatening to turn them in. That prompted their move to Montana.⁵³ Despite this, there is considerable evidence that through the years the Whitneys kept in secret touch with some members of their family.

Manning, meanwhile, continued leaving town at intervals and worked as a gambler. Then, in 1914, he conceived of another venture—this one also out of town. This time he selected as cohorts two out-of-work sheepherders,

Clarence A. Stoner and Albert Meadors. Stoner, 28, was buying his mother a house in Asotin, Washington. He was hard-pressed financially because he recently had been laid off. Meadors, originally from Maryland, had herded sheep with Stoner. Both men had been law-abiding up to this point.⁵⁴

Manning must have been aware of the peril he faced because before he left to rob the train in Oregon, he had Rose draw up his will and early one morning, with the other two as witnesses, he signed it.⁵⁵ Manning left first saying he would meet the other two in Pocatello. The two accomplices met him there and the three traveled to Baker and Umatilla in Oregon. They stayed three days in Pendleton and holed up in La Grande after deciding to rob the train at Kamela, near Meacham. They intended to raid the mail train with its rich payroll, but because the trains had been changed from a published schedule they stopped a passenger train instead.

When they found little of value in the safe they decided to rob the passengers. They forced the crew to stop the train and while Stoner guarded the train crew, Manning and Meadors canvassed the passengers. One of the passengers, Deputy Sheriff George McDuffie of Heppner, Oregon, feigned sleep. After the two bandits passed, he opened fire hitting Manning. Manning got off one shot before he slumped to the floor, the bullet striking McDuffie's front pocket. But it passed through a deck of cards, notebook and comb and the officer received only a flesh wound.

As Manning lay dying, Meadors fled the car and with Stoner escaped into the hills. They cached the jewelry and other items in various places along the track expecting later to retrieve them.⁵⁶ A day after the robbery, Stoner and Meadors were captured in Hilgard, down the tracks from Meacham. In September, they pleaded guilty and were sentenced to thirteen years each in the Oregon penitentiary.⁵⁷ In 1917, Stoner was paroled and in 1919, he was pardoned and the slate wiped clean.⁵⁸ He led a law-abiding life and died in Newport, Washington, in 1974. Meadors however went on to a long life of crime and is thought to have died in Nevada's Carson City prison.⁵⁹ Manning's body was returned to Cokeville and he is buried in the cemetery there.⁶⁰

In his confession, Charlie Whitney said of his life: "I sold my birthright for a few tainted dollars that I took from the Cokeville Bank back in September 1911, for my brothers sake and my love and loyalty to him. If we are not punished for our mistakes we certainly are punished by them, and Hugh and I have paid a mighty sum for our mistakes in the form of bitter remorse, tears and regret."

JIM DULLENTY was one of the founders of the National Association for Outlaw and Lawman History (NOLA). He has had articles published in True West, Frontier Times and Old West.

MARY STONER HADLEY is a member of NOLA and has long had an interest in Wyoming and outlaw history. She previously has been published in True West and the NOLA Quarterly magazine.

A never before published photograph of Charlie Whitney (left) and Clarence Stoner, taken at Stoner's farm house in Camden, Washington, taken the summer after Charley surrendered to Wyoming Governor Frank Barrett.



1. Interview with Dorothy Somsen, Cokeville, Wyoming, June 14, 1980; and J. Patrick Wilde, *Treasured Tidbits of Time* (Montpelier, Idaho: By the author, 1977).
2. Records from Wyoming State Penitentiary, Rawlins. Details on Stoner-Cassidy relationship found in Larry Pointer, *In Search of Butch Cassidy* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1977).
3. History of Leitersburg, Pennsylvania, District; and Maryland Census Records.
4. Maryland 1850 Census Records.
5. Maryland Revolutionary War Records, p. 124.
6. Family records in possession of Mary Stoner Hadley, Spokane, Washington; and *Progressive Men of the State of Wyoming* (Chicago: A. W. Bowen & Co., 1903).
7. *Ibid.*; and I. S. Bartlett, ed., *History of Wyoming*, Vol. III (Chicago: S. J. Clarke Publishing Company, 1918), p. 308.
8. *Progressive Men*, p. 292; and *Wyoming*, p. 246.
9. Family records of Mary Stoner Hadley.
10. *Ibid.*; interview with Dorothy Somsen; and interviews with Loyd Nelson, Benton City, Washington, September 7, 15, 1981.
11. Penobscot County, Maine 1850 Census Records.
12. Wisconsin 1870 Census Records.
13. Idaho 1880 Census Records.
14. Frank S. Taylor (Charlie Whitney), confession to the governor of Wyoming titled, "Forty Years a Fugitive," December 1, 1951, in Glasgow, Montana.
15. Lewis H. Daniels, "Hugh Whitney—Outlaw," in *Snake River Echoes*, 1977.
16. Taylor, "Forty Years a Fugitive."
17. Wilde, *Treasured Tidbits of Time*.
18. Interview with Fannie Chamberlain, Adrian, Oregon.
19. Letter to author from Virgie Stoffers, Ogden, Utah, March 26, 1982. Virgie is Louella Stoffers' nephew's wife.
20. Interview with Una Dayton, Cokeville, Wyoming, November 19, 1981. Una is a niece of Charley Manning's wife.
21. Interview with Virgie Stoffers.
22. Interview with Fannie Chamberlain.
23. *Ibid.*; interview with Dorothy Somsen; interviews with Loyd Nelson; and Robert R. Rose, *Advocates and Adversaries*, ed. Gene M. Gressley (Chicago: Lakeside Classics, 1977).
24. Interview with Loyd Nelson.
25. Rose, *Advocates and Adversaries*.
26. *Ibid.*
27. *Ibid.*
28. *Ibid.*
29. Interview with Fannie Chamberlain.
30. Rose, *Advocates and Adversaries*.
31. "Wanted for Murder," poster circulated by W. H. Bancroft, vice president and general manager of the Oregon Short Line Railroad Co., and Governor James H. Hawley of Idaho, June 19, 1911.
32. The Monida, Montana, robbery and train killing and escape were taken from Wilde, *Treasured Tidbits of Time*; Daniels, "Hugh Whitney—Outlaw"; "Wanted for Murder"; and Samuel Westlake Lundholm, "Best I Can Remember," in *Snake River Echoes*, 1977.
33. Interview with Dorothy Somsen.
34. Taylor, "Forty Years a Fugitive."
35. Rose, *Advocates and Adversaries*.
36. *Ibid.*
37. Wilde, *Treasured Tidbits of Time*.
38. *Ibid.*
39. *Ibid.*
40. Rose, *Advocates and Adversaries*.
41. Wilde, *Treasured Tidbits of Time*.
42. *Ibid.*
43. *Ibid.*
44. Interview with Roy Jones, Wind River Reservation, Wyoming, October 22, 1973; and interview with Herman Lajeunesse, Wind River Reservation, Wyoming, October 22, 1973.
45. Wilde, *Treasured Tidbits of Time*.
46. *Ibid.*; and *Denver Post*, June 19, 1952.
47. Wilde, *Treasured Tidbits of Time*.
48. Daniels, "Hugh Whitney—Outlaw"; and Taylor, "Forty Years a Fugitive."
49. *Denver Post*, June 19, 1952; and Taylor, "Forty Years a Fugitive."
50. *Denver Post*, June 19, 1952; and Woodlawn Cemetery, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan, caretaker letter, December 6, 1981.
51. *Denver Post*, June 19, 1952.
52. Whitefish, Montana, Cemetery Records.
53. Rose, *Advocates and Adversaries*.
54. Gracey Stoner Stevenson conversations. She was Abe Stoner's daughter.
55. Rose, *Advocates and Adversaries*.
56. *Cokeville Register*, July 11, 1914; *News* (Richland, Oregon), July 9, 1914; see also various other Oregon, Washington and Wyoming newspapers; and Mary Stoner Hadley, "My Father Was a Train Robber," *True West*, August, 1983.
57. *East Oregonian* (Pendleton, Oregon), September 1, 1914.
58. Pardon and parole records, Oregon governor's office.
59. Oregon State Penitentiary Records, Salem, Oregon.
60. *Cokeville Register*, July 11, 1914.

The historical phenomenon of conquest has occurred with a frequency more than sufficient to justify serious study. If that phenomenon is to be understood (and perhaps avoided in the future), however, the values, attitudes and opinions which both create and sustain it must be carefully examined.

Case studies, thus, are potentially a most useful instrument of that understanding which makes avoidance possible. The relationship between the government of the United States and the indigenous Indian population which fell under its jurisdiction is clearly one such case study.

The relationship between and among various ethnic and/or racial groups has, throughout the course of American history, been marked by socio-political ambivalence and punctuated by violence. On the frontier, relations between various Indian tribes and Whites of equally varied cultural backgrounds were the focal point of such ambivalence—and more than occasionally, violence. So long as Whites insisted on entering "Indian Territory," however that might be defined, contact between the two groups was inevitable and the possibility of conflict was ever present.

Thus, from the beginning, White attitudes towards Native Americans were such as to make conquest the only politically feasible policy for representatives to advocate and for bureaucrats to propose and to administer. The purpose of this paper is to examine White attitudes and values as they are reflected in the public statements of that segment of the population most significantly related to Indian policy—the members of both houses of the Congress of the United States. Congressional attitudes related to three of the topic areas which were of major significance during the 19th century will be examined. The topic areas are: (1) Indian removal; (2) White superiority; (3) An unquestioned perception both of the necessity and the morality of demanding that Indian culture change to the point of disappearance.

The first of these topic areas, Indian removal, is defined, for purposes of this paper, much more broadly than normal. By removal, I refer not only to the policy of removing Indians from the Old Northwest Territory and elsewhere to Indian Territory in Oklahoma, but also the subsequent policy of "removing" Indians to reservations. My reason for such a broad definition is simple. Whether

CONGRESS AND THE INDIAN: The Politics of Conquest

by Robert L. Munkres

Other racial and ethnic groups came to the "New World" either as slaves or as supplicant immigrants, to be granted the boon of admission to the country if they met the standards of the dominant society. Native Americans, however, were different—they were here first! In spite of the "empty continent" rhetoric which dominated 19th century examinations of the country's origin, Indians *were* here and they *had* to be dealt with. The necessity of such dealings generated White reactions of some variety. Varied though they might have been, one reaction was consistently apparent—Indians must be displaced and Indian ways discouraged, dismantled and destroyed. The policy of the Federal Government (and that of the states, too) was always the conquest of the Indians—geographically, politically, economically and culturally.

one speaks of "removal" in the narrower or the broader sense, the reference is to policies with a common purpose—the separation of Indians, geographically and culturally, from contact with the dominant society. Such enforced separation is synonymous with conquest.

After dealing on a plane of at least pseudo-equality with the tribes during the colonial period and the earliest years of independence, a new policy was initiated during the presidency of Andrew Jackson. As explained by President Jackson in his message to Congress on May 15, 1830: "This emigration should be voluntary: for it would be as cruel as unjust to compel the aborigines to abandon the graves of their fathers, and seek a home in a distant land."¹ The remainder of the presidential message constitutes a virtual check list of the expectations at least nominally

associated with the policy of removal during the remainder of the century.

But they should be distinctly informed that if they remain within the limits of the States, *they must be subject to their laws.* In return for their obedience, *as individuals, they will, without doubt, be protected in the enjoyment of those possessions which they have improved by their industry.* But it seems to me visionary to suppose that, in this state of things, claims can be allowed on tracts of country on which they have neither dwell nor made improvements, merely because they have seen them from the mountain, or passed them in the chase. Submitting to the laws of the States, and receiving, like other citizens, protection in their persons and property, *they will, ere long, become merged in the mass of our population.*²

Despite Jackson's assertion, of course, Indian removal was hardly voluntary, nor did those who chose to remain find much protection from the "majesty of the law"; and merger with the "mass of our population" was hardly a realistic presumption in states that came to adopt anti-miscegenation laws!

As late as 1836, the argument was advanced that removal was not only necessary for Indian survival, but that it was, in fact, a positive good for the indigenous inhabitants. Among others, Congressman John Reynolds, Democrat of Illinois, made the point. Removal, Reynolds argued, "was the necessary and inevitable consequence of the advance of the white population . . ." ³ Its necessity made the policy "just and proper, as well as humane, on the part of the Government" which should be willing to incur the associated expenses "of their removal, and the expense of a mounted force to preserve peace among them" because such cost is "nothing in comparison to the duty the Government owes them, to preserve them, and render their situation as happy as the circumstances of the case will permit."⁴

The native population would also benefit from still another effect of removal. In the same House Debate of April 22, 1836, Francis Granger, a member of the Whig Party from New York, made a point frequently advanced by those who supported both removal and Indian rights/survival. The argument "which commended itself to me with more force than any other, was the fact that they [Indians] would be removed from the vices which civilization threw around them . . ." ⁵ Granger's assumptions concerning the aftermath of such removal were, however, no more realistic than had been Jackson's. The congressmen expected removed Indians to "be taken to a country where broad hunting grounds would be secured to them," where "they would follow the chase as they had been accustomed to follow it," with the result that "all their simple wants [would be] supplied, and [they] would cease to be the victims of the white man's cupidity."⁶

The demand for Indian removal was vehemently voiced long after the vast majority of the Eastern tribes had been relocated in Indian Territory and other points west of the Mississippi. As late as 1866, in a speech delivered in the House of Representatives on June 9, Walter Burleigh (Republican, Dakota) called for continuing policy of

"removal," by which he meant "the collection, removal, and consolidation of the remnants of the Indian tribes" residing at that time on reservations outside Indian Territory.⁷ The effective elimination of Indian Reservations everywhere except in the present state of Oklahoma would, according to Burleigh, be attended by at least the following advantages:

It will not cost as much to treat with the Sioux Indians of Dakota, Montana, and the adjoining Territories, remove them into the above described country, and keep them as long as an Indian exists, embalm and monument them when dead, as it does to support the military establishment in guarding our borders in times of trouble and garrisoning our western posts for twelve months. *The bare interest of that amount will treat with them, remove and subsist them upon their reservations without using one dollar of the principal.*⁸

The country . . . is sufficiently large to support all the tribes north of the Arkansas and east of the Rocky mountains. It is well adapted to the wants of a large Indian population with an abundance of land suited to cultivation, and it is the great game region of the United States.⁹

The removal and final settlement of our northwestern Indians in this proposed reservation would enable us to open the entire body of mineral lands east of the Rocky mountains, relieve our overland emigration from Indian dangers and annoyances, and place the red men where they could live and die unmolested by the enterprise of the white, and under the protecting arm of the Government.¹⁰

Of course, some objected to the removal and concentration policy described by Burleigh. The principal adverse arguments were neatly summarized in a debate in the House of Representatives December 19, 1878. Thomas Crittenden (Democrat, Missouri) expressed the view of the populations of most of the western states when he objected to the continuation of the very idea of "Indian Territory." "Our desire," he said, "is to have that Territory open to the march of civilization from all the States."¹¹ A distinct minority deplored "removal" of northern Indian to the south for another reason—climactic change and disease were decimating the Indian population thus removed. The bearer of a name long associated with the frontier, Andrew Boone, Democrat of Kentucky, spoke for this minority. ". . . it is absolute cruelty to the Indian race, wild and savage as they may be, to bring them from the north and put them in that climate. Talk about exterminating the Indian race! Why, sir, it would be better to put them all to the bayonet and let them die at once rather than subject them to the slow torture of being destroyed by the fevers which infest that Territory."¹²

It cannot be said that Boone's statement had much of an impact on his colleagues, at least not a positive one! Martin Townsend (Republican, New York) was one who led the indignant reaction to such soft-headedness by noting that he himself came

of a stock that was transplanted to the eastern border of the State of Massachusetts. They arrived there in December, and by the 1st of April one-third of the entire body of colonists were in their graves. But we are not dead yet. [Laughter] We are not exterminated. God's blessing followed the settlement. Therefore I do not draw any particular inference from the fact that some



Walter A. Burleigh continued to advocate the policy of removal of Indian tribes in 1866.

dirty, miserable tribes of Indians sickened and some of them have died in the Indian Territory.¹³

Townsend's statement is an excellent expression of that value which justifies all conquest—a feeling of inherent, unquestioned and dominating superiority. This feeling was shared, with varying degrees of vehemence, by the overwhelming majority of Anglo-Americans; it is, therefore, hardly surprising that it also surfaced with great regularity in the halls of Congress. For example, when confronted with the undeniable fact that "we do find in the Cherokee country many families enjoying all the common comforts of civil and domestic life, and possessing the necessary means to secure these enjoyments," Wilson Lumpkin, a Democratic Representative from Georgia, nonetheless fully supported the removal of the Indians from that state in the 1830s.¹⁴ Why? Even though "we find a number of schools and houses built for religious worship," he noted, "the principal part of these enjoyments are confined to the blood of the white man, either in whole or in part. But few, very few of the real Indians participate largely in these blessings. A large portion of the full blooded Cherokees still remain a poor degraded race of human beings."¹⁵

Presumed White superiority was one side of the coin; the other, of course, was an equally unverifiable assumption

of Indian inferiority. "It is said . . . that these people [Indians] have been melting away. That is true, and it is true of every savage people that come in contact with civilized nations and attempt to maintain their separate existence. If they refuse to merge into and become part of the superior race, they must necessarily be destroyed."¹⁶ Thus spoke Senator James Harlan (Republican, Iowa) on June 11, 1864. A fellow party member from the neighboring state of Wisconsin, James Doolittle, was no rabid blood-thirsty foe of Indians. Indeed, it was through the report of the commission which he headed that the tragic butchery at Sand Creek was branded onto the conscience of the country. Nonetheless, two years after that event, on April 18, 1866, Doolittle affirmed his conviction that "[w]e are dealing with a feeble people, with a dying people; they will soon pass away, and nothing will remain of the Indian tribes but the beautiful names which they gave to our rivers and our towns. This is to be their inevitable destiny."¹⁷ The following February 22, the *Wisconsin Republican*, noting "the difficulties which exist in the proper administration of Indian affairs," observed that "[t]hey are difficulties which grow out of the nature of the disease itself, irremediable, incurable, which grow out of the contact of a superior with an inferior race . . ."¹⁸

Some five months later, on July 13, 1867, Senator Jacob Howard (Republican, Michigan) provided our last example of the deeply rooted White conviction of Indian inferiority. What, he asked, "is the present result of all these humane and philanthropic efforts to civilize and Christianize the Indian?" He then provided the answer to his own query: "Sir, the net result of the whole is hardly worth speaking about. From some fatality or other, no matter what, it is perfectly apparent that the North American Indian cannot be civilized, cannot be Christianized."¹⁹ The policy significance of Indian inferiority was clearly recognized by Howard, as it had been by most of his predecessors and successors. The inferiority of Indians legitimized, even demanded, White expansion virtually to the ends of the earth. "It is in the very nature of things," said Howard, "that barbarism, which is but another name for feebleness and dependence, must yield before the firm tread of the white man, carrying forward, as he always will, the flag and the institutions of civilization."²⁰

The reference to "barbarism" was hardly a semantic accident. With virtually no exceptions, policy-makers during the 19th century saw Indian-White contact in terms of barbarians being confronted by representatives of civilized society and culture. Given such a perceived confrontation, it seemed self-evident that barbarian Indians must give way or be forced to give way. A senate debate in July, 1867, was the forum for at least one series of expressions of this sentiment. "There is no dictate of humanity," stated Senator Timothy Howe (Republican, Wisconsin), "which requires that civilization should stand back while barbarism has free scope to disport itself here or elsewhere."²¹ A speech by Senator Edmund Ross (Democrat, Kansas) is, however, a better representative of the flowery, almost

poetic, exposition of the "conflict (which) is one between civilization and barbarism."²² In the same debate as that in which Howe participated, the Kansan spoke thusly:

The Indian, stimulated by the instinct of self-preservation, has resisted and struck at the advancing wave of emigration rudely and awkwardly, but with all the barbaric force at his command, while the white man, as instinctively possessed with the desire for conquest and development, pressed forward by the constantly increasing density of population in the older States, impressed with the consciousness of his destiny and the philosophy of the sacred injunction to replenish and subdue the earth, and armed by a superior civilization, has as steadily moved forward in his self-imposed mission . . .²³

With considerably less eloquence, Congressman Thomas Crittenden (Democrat, Missouri) summarized a century of conquest. On December 19, 1878, he noted emphatically that "[t]his whole country was set aside for the Indians at one time by God, but we have driven them out, and I say let us keep driving them if they stand in the way of the civilization of country."²⁴

It is clear that such policy debate as took place involved disagreement between those who thought Indians incapable of change and those who thought such change just might be possible. *No one* suggested that perhaps Indians might or ought to have the right to retain at least a part of their own culture. Those who were convinced that the Indian could change were possessed of no doubts at all concerning the nature of those projected changes. In words spoken on January 25, 1881, Senator George Pendleton (Democrat, Ohio) noted that "[i]t must be our part to seek to foster and to encourage within them [Indians] this trinity upon which all civilization depends—family, and home, and property."²⁵ "These are the institutions," he continued, "that make the barbarian a civilized man, and as these are developed they make the civilized man that which we are told it was said he would be if he ate of the tree of knowledge—like unto God, discerning good and evil."²⁶

The theological underpinnings of conquest have been described in some of the congressional opinions already noted. It should be here emphasized that they were neither random nor infrequent! From "sea to shining sea" political leaders were united in the belief that God literally was on their side. In the words of Doolittle, from Wisconsin, "God in His providence is giving this continent to a hundred millions of human beings of higher civilization, of greater energies, capable of developing themselves, and doing good to themselves and the world, and leading the advanced guard of human and Christian civilization."²⁷ Earlier in the same speech, he had more extensively broached this subject.

It is true that we have not succeeded in preserving the Indian tribes; but the difficulty is not in the treaties that we have made, nor in the legislation which we have passed. The difficulty is in the case itself. We are a different race. God, in His providence, has opened this New World to the colonization of a different race from that which inhabited it when our forefathers first landed upon the shores of New England. From the day of their landing down to the present hour, the Indian race has

been a dying, dying, dying race, and it is fast passing away.

It is not that the government has inflicted wrong; it is not that the government has not legislated in their interest; that it has not appropriated money liberally and bounteously for the Indian tribes during their whole history; but it grows out of the case itself, the contact of the two races, side by side upon the frontiers of Christian civilization.²⁸

Balancing the demands of theologically justified White expansion with the assumed imminent demise of the Indians was a task widely undertaken. According to James McDougall, Democratic Senator from California, "[w]e do not owe them [Indians] anything but this: we should protect them on their hunting grounds. That I am prepared to do always, and let them die out by a law established by a greater Master than confines himself to this sphere, as another race that inhabit about the District of Columbia is to die out."²⁹ About a year later, Senators John Sherman of Ohio and Edmund Ross of Kansas, Republican and Democrat respectively, clearly suggested the limited nature of any obligation owed by the dominant society to those whom it was displacing. "The duty of the hour," said Ross, "is to temper the conflict consistently with the exalted maxims of humanity by which we profess to be governed, to render not unnecessarily painful the pathway to the grave of an expiring race."³⁰ Sherman went somewhat further, observing that "[i]f you ask me who is wrong about this matter, I say that the white people are wrong in one sense for invading the land of the Indians and for violating the treaty stipulations made with them."³¹ "But," he quickly added, "on the other hand, I say that it is the will of Providence that these races must give way to the march of civilization; and although always in these great movements cruelty may be the result, yet in the end great good comes to the human family . . . we cannot protect them [Indians] from the inevitable destiny by which they must disappear from the face of the earth or be absorbed in the white population of this country. If that is a cruel idea, it is made cruel by the logic of events. It is a part of that higher law which will not be controlled by the simple agencies of your statutes or by any act of ordinary human beings."³²

Virtually all of the material presented above clearly reflects the deeply held assumption that Indians were destined to disappear, that conquest of the continent by the superior Whites was inevitable. Senator McDougall (Democrat, California) professed that he was "partial to the Indian race. I was taught in my childhood by the Oneidas."³³ Nonetheless, he did "not think that we have been out of the order of life or nature because the Indian has retroceded from the country where he was born . . . crowded by the progress of high civilization. I do not think that wrong. I think it is one of the provisions of the Master that thus it should be so."³⁴ "It must happen so," he concluded, "for there is a progression of races, and that progression we have seen through all ages . . ."³⁵

Sherman saw the process in terms of what might be called pragmatic inevitability. "As our white population progress westward over the Plains they will either absorb

the Indian population or kill it off. It may be hard; but such is the fate of all barbarous communities, all wild tribes, when they come in contact with civilized tribes."³⁶ While the Ohioan was convinced that "[y]ou cannot stop or change that law of nature," it is to his credit that there was, in his judgment, "no solution of the Indian trouble except the gradual and humane absorption into our general population of all the Indian tribes . . ."³⁷ A decade and a half later, Preston Plumb, Republican Senator from Kansas, was even less optimistic. "From the time when the white people landed upon the North American Continent down to the present time, whenever an Indian reservation has stood in the way of white settlement or progress of any kind, or in the way even of the greed of the white man, the Indian and his title to the land have been obliged to give way; and we are not going to change that now."³⁸

Perhaps it is appropriate that the concluding statement on the subject of White superiority and the inevitability of Indian defeat and disappearance be rendered by a one-time Indian agent, Walter Burleigh, Republican of Dakota.

Nothing is surer than that the Indian race is passing away before the onward tread of the white man and the irresistible influence of civilization . . .

The footprints of the Caucasian are everywhere visible in the soil of all our western Territories, as well upon the mountain-tops as in its deepest canons and broadest plains. The genius of enterprise and industry has already extended his want over the fertile vastness of the great West, and as if by more than magic power has infused a new life into its productive valleys and goldbearing mountains. The future of that country is already fixed; the fate of the Indian is sealed as effectually and as materially as was that of the Canaanites before the advancing armies of Israel as they moved forward to possess the promised land of their inheritance. Unwise legislation might perhaps interpose a puny obstacle, but it can not more permanently stop the surging, rolling tide of western emigration in its onward way to the Pacific, than it can prevent the changes of the season or stay the flight of time.³⁹

Indians were irrevocably on the path toward disappearance, and continued White expansion was dictated by the Deity as well as by White self-interest. Any lingering twinges of conscience that did not crumble under the weight of these two propositions were easily assuaged by one more "fact"—Indians were, after all, savages.

The horror, fear and commitment to eliminate which was fostered by the notion of unmitigated Indian savagery was older than the republic itself. In the 1830s it provided a strong base upon which to place the policy of removal. On April 22, 1836, Representatives Ransom Gillet (Democrat, New York), Francis Granger (Whig, New York) and Albert Harrison (Democrat, Missouri) all provided verbal shoring for that policy base. According to Gillet, "[t]he fears excited by a civilized foe could bear but little comparison with those called forth in the West by a savage one, whose movements are sudden, and whose rules of warfare is to pounce upon their victims in the stillness of midnight, sparing neither age nor sex, making all the victims of savage and fiendish barbarity."⁴⁰ To which Granger added, "he [the Indian] feels no disgrace in telling you that

he will not meet you on the battlefield, because he has been early taught, both by sages and warriors, that treachery is honorable."⁴¹ And to those who might disagree, Harrison directed a rhetorical question: "Are gentlemen unacquainted with the Indian character? Have no lessons of wisdom been collected from the past? Do they not know the uncertain, capricious, and savage disposition of the Indians?"⁴²

A minority opinion held that much Indian warfare was the result of White instigation. Ebon Ingersoll (Republican, Illinois) was a member of that minority. On March 28, 1866, he argued that "nine tenths of the depredations ascribed to the Indians generally are exaggerated by those who are interested on our borders in plundering these tribes from Kansas to California."⁴³ When "Indians have asserted their rights, attempted either to retaliate or defend themselves" against "robbing, cheating, plundering, brutalizing, and murdering" White men, "we have been appealed to by these same men asking us to use the power of the Government to crush these weak and outraged people."⁴⁴

James Henderson (Union-Republican, Oregon) responded vigorously, even vehemently, to Ingersoll's charge. After stipulating that he himself had lived "a long time in the sight of Indians, and I think I have a pretty correct knowledge of their habits," Henderson counter-charged that "Indians who are not civilized and enlightened . . . have no moral principle, and are not to be depended upon."⁴⁵ Professing personal knowledge of Indian barbarities, he concluded by repelling "any idea that the barbarities committed by the Indians have grown out of any acts of the whites. They grow out of the depraved nature of the Indians unenlightened by Christianity. That is the cause of the barbarous conduct of which so many of these Indians have been guilty."⁴⁶

Finally, Thomas Ryan (Republican, Kansas) is at least the co-author of a quote attributed historically to others. He responded to the events associated with the "break out" of the Northern Cheyennes with a speech to the House of Representatives December 19, 1878. "The best wild Indian I ever saw," he announced, "was a dead one."⁴⁷ He then provided the reason for holding such an opinion: "That Indian, in his savage state, is the greatest idol of his tribe who can dash out the brains of the most children; ravish the most women, and then murder them; kill, by the most cruel torture, the most men, and then adorn his belt with the scalps of all."⁴⁸

As the exchange between Ingersoll and Henderson illustrates, by no means did all Whites view all Indians as totally evil, depraved and savage. All but a very small minority, however, did believe Native Americans to be deficient in those qualities prerequisite to civilization (at least as that term was defined by the dominant society)!

Jefferson Davis, though not primarily remembered for his service as a Senator and Secretary of War, did "not sympathize at all with those who invest them [Indians] with the character of fiction, give them a noble character, and presume that they are always right."⁴⁹ Furthermore, the Mississippi Democrat viewed Indians "as cruel and

thieving, a race of men utterly below the white man, and never capable of rising to his level . . . '50 Even so, he also refused to "go to the other extreme and represent them as creatures to be exterminated by the power of the United States."51

The assumption perhaps the most widely accepted by those who rejected extermination as policy was described by Sherman (Republican, Ohio) on June 11, 1864. ". . . we should reconsider our whole Indian policy, reorganize it, put at the head of it some good Christian gentleman *who will take care of the Indians as children* . . . '52 Though clearly paternalistic in orientation, Sherman's attitude was more positive than that of Senator Morton Wilkinson (Republican, Minnesota). Speaking in the same debate, Wilkinson stated his view bluntly: "The truth is that they [Indians] are a lazy, miserable, thriftless set of beings . . . '53

An occasional White man recognized, and perhaps even empathized with, the Indian defense of their homeland; Harlan (Republican; Iowa) was one. In a Senate speech July 13, 1867, he spoke of the proposed removal of all Indians to the south. With reference specifically to the Crows and the Blackfeet, "who have inhabited this region of country for centuries, and who are as much attached to the soil, doubtless, as the white people are attached to their homes," he pointed out that "they would be as difficult to remove as the people of Switzerland would be from the hills on which they have resided for centuries."54 The erroneous notion that Indian tribes west of the Mississippi had resided in the same general area for hundreds of years was almost universally accepted by Whites during the 19th century.

Three speeches delivered before the senate in January, 1881, illustrate the range of views existing at that time (in addition, of course, to the "exterminators"). Preston Plumb (Republican, Kansas) recognized the validity of the government's obligation toward the Indians, but he was utterly pessimistic about its eventual outcome. Recognizing both "the obligation of humanity" and "the obligation of law," Plumb said he "would be the last one to advocate the violation of either obligation . . . '55 Nonetheless, he went on to express his firm conviction that an "Indian will maintain his essential characteristics as such as long as he lives; he will never be absorbed into the white race to any considerable extent. It is impossible that he should ever be a factor in any civilization, in any progress, or in any future of this country . . . '56

Eleven days earlier, on January 20, a Colorado Republican, Henry Teller, expressed a much more positive and sociologically sophisticated outlook. Recognizing that Indians differed between and among themselves to a degree as great as that marking White populations about the world, Teller flatly rejected "the sentiment that has been prevalent in some sections, that there were no good Indians, and that nothing could be done with the Indian."57 Furthermore, he insisted, "that with proper intelligent effort the Indian might be in time civilized and become an intelligent and valuable citizen."58

The principle component of that "intelligent effort" was obvious to Henry Dawes, Massachusetts Republican. On January 26, 1881, speaking in support of the policy of allotment, Senator Dawes observed that distribution of land was not, in and of itself, a sufficient step. "The Indian will be an Indian as long as he lives unless he is taught to work."59 That phrase, as neatly as any other, expresses the view of the dominant society. Indians not only had to "learn how to work," but in the process they will also have to cease to be Indians. That Indians were to be required to change in directions pre-determined by Whites was the unquestioned policy assumption of the last two decades of the 19th century. Such change, designed to obliterate a culture, is the last step in conquest. As such, it is the final topic to be treated in this paper.

The perceived need fundamentally to alter the values and life styles of indigenous inhabitants grew, at least in part, out of the political, legal and constitutional ambivalence which had marked Indian-White contact from the beginning. Senator George Vest, Democrat from Missouri, admirably summed up this ambivalence, and the ambiguity associated with it, when he addressed the senate January 25, 1881.

The Constitution recognizes the fact that these Indian tribes are neither States or foreign nations. The Constitution says that Congress shall have power "to regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian tribes." So they are neither States nor foreign nations. The truth is they are *sui generis*, a peculiar political entity, not foreign nations, but they have been defined over and over again by the Supreme Court of the United States to be *Indians in the United States and yet not of it*.60

Ambivalence to the contrary notwithstanding, virtually all Whites agreed on at least one point—Indians had no legal (or moral) right to the land over which they had traditionally roamed. On May 15, 1830, for instance, Representative Wilson Lumpkin firmly stipulated "the fundamental principal that the Indians had no right either to the soil or sovereignty of the countries they occupied."61

More than a quarter of a century later, on February 2, 1859, Representative William Phelps (Democrat, Minnesota) echoed the same opinion. "True, we have taken his [Indian] land, or rather the land over which he roamed, but which he did not improve nor make to yield of its rich abundance to promote the happiness and the progress of mankind. It was our duty to do it. We wanted the land for the various uses [for] which an all-wise Providence designed it. We wanted it to make free homes for a free people. It was not right that this fair continent should remain a wilderness."62

Many felt, with that benefit of hindsight which eliminates all ambiguities, that the government had made a mistake in dealing with the Indians at all in the acquisition of their land. A Republican from Illinois (Richard Yates) and a Democrat from Kansas (Edmund Ross) both registered similar opinions on this subject while participating in a Senate debate July 13, 1867. Yates argued "that the Indians should never have been treated as own-

ing the land. They never did own the land. No man has a right to own land who will not work it. The Government should never have treated them as owning the land . . . "63 Ross seconded the opinion. "The country," he said, "has brought this calamity upon itself by the maintenance of a false and pernicious Indian policy. We have committed the almost unpardonable absurdity of dignifying a few roving bands of Ishmaelites as independent sovereignties, when they were properly the wards of the nation, subject in every respect to a stronger power and a higher intelligence, which knew better than they what was for their good, and should have treated them accordingly."64

It must, however, be recognized that there *was* a minority view of this subject. That is, there was a feeling on the part of a few that Indians had *some* claim on the society that had displaced them. Doolittle (Republican, Wisconsin) spoke to this point April 18, 1866.

The truth is, the Indians inhabited all this vast country. I do not claim that they held it by a title such as that by which the civilized man holds his land in fee-simple; but they existed, lived, and occupied the country. The Indian thinks, and the world believes, and mankind must admit, that the Great Father above gave him his life, his existence, upon these vast plains, and in this rich and beautiful country . . . Is it just in the sight of God or man for us to say that we owe nothing to these peo-

ple whose land we are appropriating at our pleasure? I cannot feel in that way. I think, therefore, that all we give the Indian, if we give him ten times as much as we do, would not pay him any more than the debt that we really owe.⁶⁵

John Baker (Republican, Indiana) chided his colleagues in a House speech given December 19, 1878. Indian land holding, he pointed out, had steadily diminished during the entire 19th century. Even so, of what remained in Indian hands, "we are told that the march of civilization must roll its wheels over this small remnant of territory and crush the Indians forever out of existence. Let gentlemen be manly; if they want to play the thief, let them play it openly and in a manly way."⁶⁶

Official denial of Indian title to the land was related to an equally adamant rejection of another aspect of Indian culture, and both reflected the utter rejection of the idea that things Indian could have any intrinsic or inherent value. If White officialdom rejected Indian ownership of the land, they also objected vehemently to the types of land usage preferred by Native Americans. The three key elements of Indian culture (on the high plains at least) which Whites found most objectionable were: (1) nomadic rather than sedentary life styles; (2) emphasis on hunting; and (3) some concept of communal rather than individual



1891 Indian Delegation to Washington, D.C.

ownership of the land. All three of these were presumed by Harlan (Republican, Iowa) on June 11, 1864, when he described the land prior to White acquisition as "an unbroken wilderness, without roads or bridges or means of egress or ingress, inhabited by savages and wild beasts, with none of the necessary appendages and conveniences of civilized life in reach."⁶⁷ In 1881, Vest, from Missouri, expressed the dominant view when he stated as a fact that "until the nomadic element is eliminated from the Indian system in the United States there can be no peace, no safety, and no stability."⁶⁸ "The idea of a home is the germ of civilization," he went on, "and until that idea is implanted in the Indians, as in all other races on this continent, there can be no safety and no stability and no prospect of civilization for them by the government."⁶⁹

Less than a week later on January 25, 1881, Senator Wilkinson Call (Democrat, Florida) supported Vest's argument. Noting that "[i]t is neither for their [Indians'] own good nor for that of the white race" that the tribes "be permitted to roam over these vast areas of unoccupied land and . . . prevent their occupation and cultivation." The Florida senator called for harmonizing "the interests of the Indian and the white man . . ."⁷⁰ Such socio-economic harmony was, in Wilkinson's view, to be achieved by restricting "these vast areas of land which have been heretofore used by them [Indians] for hunting grounds and bring them to the uses of civilization and occupancy."⁷¹

In his capacity as Director of the Smithsonian Institution, the noted explorer John Wesley Powell wrote a letter to Senator John Morgan (Democrat, Alabama). Powell argued for the distribution of large amounts of land in severalty to forestall any collective Indian decision as to the continued use of the land. Regarding absent Indian ownership of individual plots, Powell feared that "Indians would soon discover that they could hold these great bodies of land in common perpetually . . . [and] I fear that they would hold these great tracts in perpetuity for pasture and hunting purposes."⁷²

The unhappy policy result of White objection to Indian land ownership was nicely, if sadly, summarized by Senator Reverdy Johnson (Democrat, Maryland) June 11, 1864. "We have become a mighty nation . . .," he noted, while "these poor creatures are houseless and homeless and penniless, the chase having proved insufficient to support them, and Christianized civility having driven them away from the lands that belonged to them."⁷³

The goals and purposes of White policy-makers in the latter part of the 19th century were legislatively summarized by the Dawes Act which provided for the allotment of Indian lands and their distribution in severalty to specified individual Indian landholders. It is not the purpose of this paper to discuss the issues of allotment and distribution in severalty in detail. That the policy represented a culminating step in cultural, social and political conquest seems quite clear, despite the fact that the proponents of the measure were firmly convinced they were serving the cause of Indian development. It is equally clear

that Indian "development" was equated with the substitution of White values for traditional Indian values. A case in point is the speech supporting this policy delivered by Senator George Pendleton (Democrat, Ohio) January 25, 1881. The bill, according to Pendleton, "means the allotment of these tribal lands to the individual; it means to encourage the idea of family; it tends to break up the tribe; it tends to build up the home; it tends to anchor the family, and it tends to encourage the love of home and family by the pleasures and advantages and benefactions and beneficences which the idea of individual property will give."⁷⁴

Part of the debate over allotment always concerned the actual amount of land to be distributed to each Indian landholder. In 1886, the question was debated as to whether 320 acres of grazing land should be allotted instead of 160 acres of farmland. In regard to this issue, Representative James Weaver (Democrat, Iowa) spoke for a very substantial majority of Whites. In a speech delivered December 15, 1886, he reminded his colleagues in the House of Representatives that "[t]he white man must be considered in this matter as well as the Indian."⁷⁵ "Under the bill, if the amendments be adopted," he added, "a family of four persons, supposing the children to be over eighteen years of age, will be allotted 360 acres of arable land and 360 acres of grazing land, or 720 acres in all."⁷⁶ "In my judgment," Mr. Weaver concluded, "that is too much, but on the contrary you will sooner civilize them if you will confine them to a less area."⁷⁷

There was, of course, opposition to this policy of land redistribution. On January 20, 1881, Teller (Republican, Colorado) argued, with some bitterness, "[i]t is in the interest of speculators; it is in the interest of the men who are clutching up this land, but not in the interest of the Indians at all."⁷⁸

Another objection to allotment, very infrequently made, was raised January 20, 1881, by Senator John Morgan. The Alabama Democrat was, apparently, one of those few who thought the Indians more capable of evaluation than Whites in regard to this question!

The Indians understand this thing better than we do, wise as we suppose ourselves to be. The Indians who occupy the western plains have always lived in common. They are like the people of the interior of Russia, living upon the great steppes, where there is some agricultural land and a great deal of grazing land. The communal institution there, as it is in all analogous regions, is almost indistinguishable from the system of the Indians. These people understand from experience what is better for them than we understand with all our knowledge. We know what is better for ourselves. I would take the Indian's experience in reference to the support of his family out of the land or by herd grazing or by hunting before I would take the experience of any white man who does not understand the subject.⁷⁹

One final comment is in order in regard to the policy of distributing land in severalty. It was rendered by Teller in support of Morgan's position. "There is not a wild Indian living who knows what a fee-simple is. There are a

good many white men who do not know what it is, and there are certainly very few Indians, civilized or uncivilized, who understand it."⁸⁰

It seems clear that the final act of economic conquest was this—Indians were to be forced into agricultural patterns derived from White experience. Indians were not to own land in excess of a small acreage which they were "expected" individually to work. Annuities, promised under earlier treaties, were to be eliminated because they permitted Indians to live without working. While these opinions were deeply held by most Whites over an extended period of time, one extended example will suffice. On February 2, 1859, Representative William Phelps (Democrat, Minnesota) provided a prime example of the arguments advanced in favor of ending annuity payment and requiring that Indians be made to work.

The giving of annuities, in liberal amounts, may seem to gentlemen to be in the highest degree generous; but, sir, it is promotive of little good. It is rather an injury—destroying the only noble characteristic the Indians possess, an untamed independence . . . Thriftless and improvident, they squander their annuities in costly baubles and in enervating dissipation . . .⁸¹

Until you teach him habits of industry; until the precarious pursuits of the chase and the war-path are abandoned for the more peaceful pursuits of agriculture, you cannot expect to promote his permanent good. The roving, wandering life of a savage must be exchanged for the more quiet occupation of civilized man . . . the first step to be taken is by uprooting the community of property system; by extinguishing or modifying the tribal relation; by curbing the war spirit; and by making labor respectable and profitable, especially the cultivation of the soil.⁸²

The very foundation of all civilization commences with the plow. In the same proportion that agriculture is promoted, wealth and the more refined sciences, together with a larger intelligence, are also promoted. It is the history of all nations; the nomadic tribes of every nation and country are in a state

of semibarbarism; and it is only when they have abandoned the chase and the forest, and settled down in the pursuits of agriculture, that stable progress commences.⁸³

The annuity system is a positive injury; rather reward the successful tiller of the soil . . . Punish idleness by want, and in less than three years you will find the tribes on each reservation concentrated, prosperous, and subsisting themselves, without Government aid.⁸⁴

Conquest, it seems, can reflect differing levels of motivation, ranging from a desire simply to control the external behavior of the conquered to a deeply-felt need to destroy all which is valued by the conquered. During the 19th century, it is clear that the attitudes of most members of the two national representative bodies tended strongly in the direction of the latter. For them, the "coin" of conquest had unquestioned acceptance of White supremacy on one side and an unbending belief in Indian inferiority/savagery on the other. As a result, physical defeat of Indian warriors in the field was not enough. The culture as well as the socio-political system out of which they sprang must also be dismantled and replaced with values/institutions/procedures recognizably Anglo-American.

Policy-makers in the 19th century entertained absolutely no thought of altering government programs/policies for the purpose of accommodating at least some portion of the tribal socio-political-economic system. It would remain for "reformers" of the 1930s to initiate programs in which "accommodation" was more nearly considered to be a two-way street rather than as a synonym for destruction.

ROBERT L. MUNKRES has served for many years as Professor of Political Science at Muskingum College, Ohio. He was born in Nebraska, attended school there and received his M.A. and Ph.D. degrees from the University of Nebraska. He has been published frequently in *Annals* and is the author of *Saleratus and Sagebrush: The Oregon Trail Through Wyoming*.

All page citations noted below refer to debates in the Senate and in the House of Representatives as reproduced in Wilcomb E. Washburn, *The American Indian and the United States: A Documentary History*, Volumes I and II (New York: Random House, 1973).

1. Pp. 1088-1089.
2. Ibid. Italics added for emphasis.
3. P. 1190.
4. Ibid. Representative Reynolds went on to note, however, that "a demonstration of military force among them" would be required to "keep them in check and subordination."
5. P. 1201.
6. Ibid.
7. P. 1416.
8. P. 1419. Twelve years later, on December 19, 1878, John Baker (Republican, Indiana) spoke for a large number of people when he seconded Burleigh's opinion with these words: ". . . [these Indians] are permitted to be scattered over one-half of the territory we possess. Settle these Indians in this Indian Territory, put the guns of the soldier over them to keep the peace, and you will be able to reduce the ex-

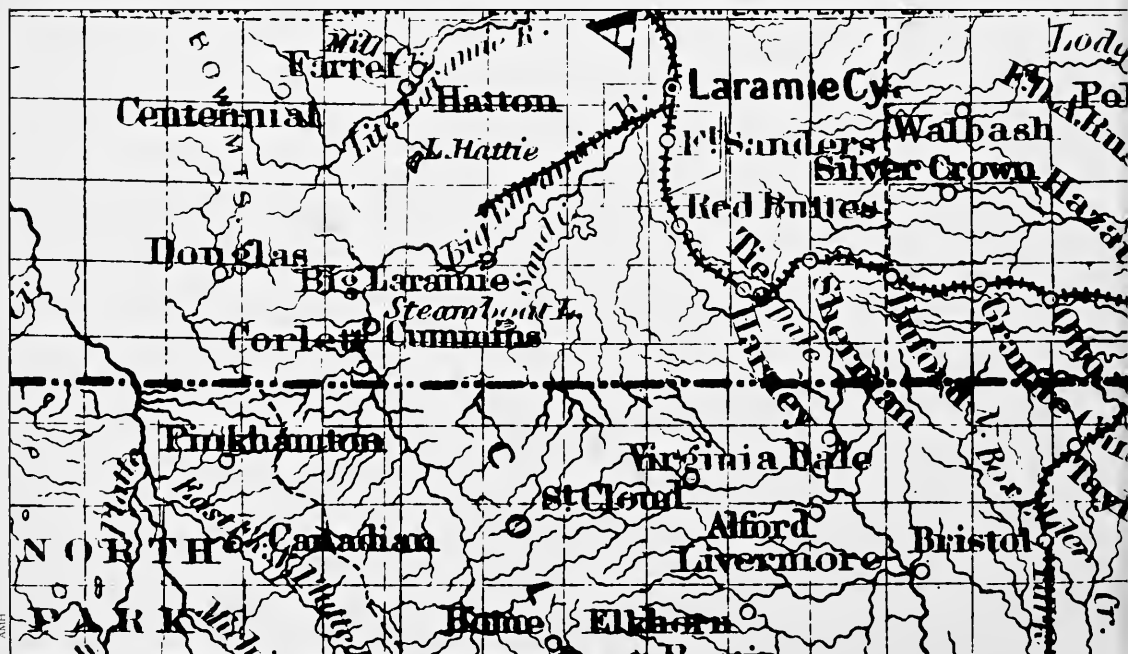
penses for the Indians one-half, and in addition reduce the expenditures for the transportation of the Army and supplies more than one-half." P. 1664.

9. P. 1423.
10. Ibid. Italics added for emphasis.
11. Pp. 1653-1654.
12. P. 1649.
13. P. 1650.
14. P. 1085.
15. Ibid.
16. P. 1351.
17. P. 1399.
18. P. 1457.
19. Pp. 1540-1541.
20. Pp. 1541-1542.
21. P. 1531.
22. P. 1580.
23. Ibid.
24. P. 1654.
25. P. 1731.

26. Ibid. Assumptions of White racial superiority permeated the dominant society. Another case in point consists of the statement made by Representative Thomas Skinner (Democrat, North Carolina) on December 15, 1886: "Twenty-one years ago the negro was suddenly raised from slavery to freedom, and shot at once into citizenship, utterly incompetent to appreciate the meaning of the word or the rights that became his in his new condition; with no book-education, no money, no land; dependent entirely upon his muscle for bread and clothes; and yet in all these years he has been self-supporting, and by long and rapid strides has been advancing in civilization. It is all due to the precept and example of the white people with whom they have come in daily contact. I am informed by those who know both the Indian and the negro that the Indian is the superior. Give, then, to the red man the black man's chance. Let him become a citizen of the United States and be taught by contact with the white man . . . extend over him and his property the same protection that is accorded to white men and the black, and the Indian will soon cease to be a burden to the government, and in good time will help to bear its burdens and add to the material wealth of the country. The Indian problem will be solved." Pp. 1851-1852.
27. Pp. 1346-1347, June 11, 1864.
28. P. 1346.
29. Pp. 1391-1392, April 18, 1866.
30. P. 1581, July 13, 1867.
31. P. 1524, July 13, 1867.
32. Ibid.
33. P. 1395, April 18, 1866.
34. Ibid.
35. Ibid.
36. P. 1521, July 13, 1867.
37. Ibid.
38. P. 1816, January 31, 1881.
39. Pp. 1409-1410, June 9, 1866.
40. P. 1212.
41. P. 1202.
42. Pp. 1197-1198.
43. P. 1375.
44. Ibid. Ingersoll concluded by noting that "Indians . . . in nine cases out of ten would have lived peaceably with the whites if they had been treated as they were treated by William Penn on the banks of the Delaware nearly two hundred years ago."
45. P. 1382.
46. Ibid.
47. P. 1661.
48. Ibid.
49. P. 1226, February 2, 1859.
50. Ibid.
51. Ibid. In a House speech given on the same day, William Phelps (Democrat, Minnesota) made something of the same point. Indians, he argued, "are sunk in habits of thriftlessness and dissipation, and are becoming the scourge of the frontier, wanting in all those manly characteristics which of yore belonged to them." P. 1228.
52. P. 1339. Italics added for emphasis.
53. P. 1357.
54. P. 1517.
55. P. 1821, January 31, 1881.
56. Ibid.
57. P. 1692.
58. Ibid.
59. P. 1785.
60. P. 1732. Italics added for emphasis.
61. P. 1090. Thomas Foster (Democrat, Georgia) quoted an address delivered by the Honorable John Quincy Adams at Plymouth in 1802: "The Indian right of possession itself stands, with regard to the greatest part of the country, upon a questionable foundation. Their cultivated fields, their constructed habitations, a space of ample sufficiency for the subsistence, and whatever they had invested for themselves by personal labor, was undoubtedly, by the laws of nature, theirs. But what is the right of a huntsman to the forest of a thousand miles, over which he has accidentally roamed in quest of prey? Shall the liberal bounties of Providence to the race of man be monopolized by one of ten thousand for whom they were created? Shall the lordly savage not only disdain the virtues and enjoyments of civilization himself, but shall he control the civilization of a world?" It might be noted that "cultivated fields," "constructed habitations" and "personal labor" were insufficient to sustain Cherokee treaty-based claims against the government of the State of Georgia! P. 1108.
62. P. 1235.
63. P. 1581. One might legitimately wonder what the senator's position was in regard to the railroad right-of-way which had been donated to the erstwhile absentee landlords by the government.
64. P. 1582.
65. Pp. 1404-1405. Most of those who agreed with Mr. Doolittle also agreed with the point made by Representative William Kelley (Republican, Pennsylvania) a year later, July 13, 1867. Mr. Kelley maintained that Indians should be dealt with "as families and as individuals" rather than in their capacity as tribes, which Kelley denominated "foreign nations in our midst." P. 1500.
66. P. 1664.
67. P. 1351.
68. P. 1689, January 20, 1881.
69. Ibid.
70. P. 1740.
71. Ibid.
72. P. 1754.
73. P. 1344.
74. P. 1731.
75. Pp. 1857-1858.
76. Ibid.
77. Ibid.
78. P. 1703. Teller later went on to note a difference between American and Canadian policy in this area. "It is true," he said, that "the tide of emigration has not swept in that direction; they have not been crowded; there is a great abundance of land in Canada, and cheap land is to be had; but above all things the reason why they have succeeded in Canada is that the government has put them upon a piece of ground and then has recognized it as theirs—not in their individual capacity, but in their tribal relation . . ." P. 1824, January 31, 1881. Italics added for emphasis.
79. Pp. 1711-1712.
80. P. 1696. More than half a century later, June 12, 1934, Senator Burton K. Wheeler of Montana pointed out an anomaly of the General Allotment Act. The backers of that policy, he said, "apparently assumed that after the passage of the act no more children would be born to Indians. Nearly all tribal land not needed for distribution was declared surplus land and this so-called 'surplus land' was thrown open to entry by white purchasers." P. 1940.
81. Pp. 1227-1228.
82. Pp. 1229-1230.
83. P. 1234.
84. P. 1235.

Adventures of an Englishman in Cummins City: Letters from Robert Mills

edited by Jean Brainerd



Wyoming, 1886 (Cummins located center left).

Cummins City, located in Albany County and close to the Colorado border, was named for entrepreneur/mining prospector, John Cummins, in 1879.¹ Now a ghost town, Cummins City could not have been called a long-term thriving stable community. Nonetheless, the town had its day in the limelight.

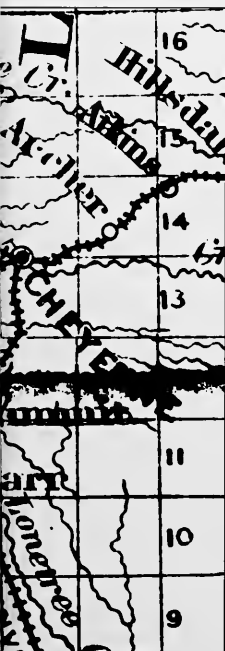
Once the proposed site of 170 streets, Cummins City has had a variety of descriptions concerning its actual size. One source states that it never had more than several houses, a schoolhouse and a few other sundry buildings.² A Frank Smith, who became acquainted with John Cummins in 1881, is reported as saying in John C. Thompson's column, "In Old Wyoming," that there were about 30 structures, including three stamp mills, a church and a "very substantial jail."³ However, according to an article in the *Laramie Sentinel*, the town consisted of "100 houses, mostly cabins and Messrs. Beard & Thomas were putting up a hotel, sixty by one hundred feet and two stories in height."⁴

Population figures for Cummins City vary from 30-200 persons during its heyday, which lasted a few scant years. There was a post office that opened May 26, 1880, with George W. Moore listed as the first postmaster. And, there were "four doctors, several lawyers, old school teachers and other professional and educated men and women."⁵

According to Keith Jones, who grew up in the area and is now in the process of writing a book about the "boom and bust" in Cummins City, the first resident in the vicinity was a tie hack by the name of James McGreevy. Jones estimates that McGreevy arrived in the area as early as the mid-1870s.⁶ It is not known how long McGreevy stayed around as he was not listed on the 1880 Wyoming Census.⁷

Cummins, who apparently had great dreams of grandeur and riches, was an "enterprising businessman" who, according to history/folklore, found a way to achieve those dreams. Cummins was described as more like a "man of the cloth," which is a far cry from the scoundrel that he was purported to be. A shrewd, talented, organized professional, Cummins along with his wife, a "lively and enthusiastic woman," and friend and confidante, "Doc" Thomas, created a financial illusion to potential investors regarding the Copper King Mine in Albany County. To keep up the impression of future wealth and secrecy, Cummins carried on his person a large envelope containing supposed "valuable papers." Whether this envelope helped with the look of success or not, the investors were not shy in coming forward to get their share of whatever fame and fortune that might come their way. They invested heavily in the mining concern. One Denver company alone was reported to have invested \$10,000 in mining rights.⁸

Although mining claims were staked around the area, nothing like huge profit-taking was the order of the day. And, like so many other highly publicized and possibly questionable endeavors, the inevitable happened. The copper mining dream of fortune for all disappeared and only



the nightmare remained. It was rumored that when the bubble burst, someone had salted the area with copper ore samples.⁹ Sometime after the collapse of the mining concern, Cummins left the area. However, he did not appear to leave empty-handed. He absconded with what he had "earned" and left the investors high, dry and broke. It was never clearly established just how much money had been invested or lost during this time, but it may have been as much as \$1 million which was never recovered.

Cummins eventually located in Denver and was still in the business of "promotional activity."¹⁰ However, as with all good things, his luck changed and the law caught up with him. It is not clear exactly what happened to Cummins, but what is clear is that when he died, the envelope, which he had so cherished and said contained "valuable papers," was finally opened and inside was neatly folded brown wrapping paper," only valuable if needed to wrap the "catch of the day."

It was during this time frame of the early 1880s that a restless, young man happened to wander into Cummins City. A man who was trying to find his way, fame and whatever else in America.

Robert Scowfield Mills was born September 6, 1863, in Southport, Lancashire, England. He was the second son of Jane Ann and Robert Mills, stone mason. Barely six weeks after the birth of his son, Robert Mills, Sr., was killed in an accident at work. The mother, alone with baby Robert and a daughter Ada, decided to go back to her family in Manchester. Before he was two years old, Robert Mills had a stepfather when his mother remarried in 1865. Twins were born later and the son was named Phil. Unfortunately, Robert's mother died in 1869 and the grandmother, Ann Gill, joined the motherless family to help with the upbringing of the children. As time went by the relationship between Robert and his stepfather turned sour and eventually Robert and his Grandmother Gill left the family home. Later in life the influence that Gill had on young Robert would show itself. Gill had been born in Clwyd, North Wales, and the stories she told Robert about Wales instilled in him a love for Wales like a native-born son.

Grandmother Gill had visited America when she married her second husband, John Gill, in 1841. Gill was a Mormon and he and Ann left Manchester for America with their destination being Salt Lake City, Utah. For some reason it was not known if they ever reached Utah or why they returned, but they did. John Gill died in Manchester in 1859.

It might have been the stories that his grandmother told Robert about America that sowed the seeds for his future traveling life. So, unhappy at his job in the cotton mills, Robert at the tender age of 16 years old set sail for America.

He apparently first went to Philadelphia, lived in and visited Illinois, Montana and Wyoming. It was during his tenure in Cummins City that Mills wrote back to his family in England about his life, experiences and adventures in the West.

The letters that he wrote are reproduced in this article and the wording and phrasing that he used have been left "as is." The letters surfaced several years ago when a granddaughter, Vickie Matthew, Cornwall, England, wrote to the Wyoming State Archives, Museums and Historical Department requesting information about some of the places her grandfather had spent his teenage years. And, as a book was being written about him and a possible television documentary, any information would fill in some of the questions that were still unanswered.

Although Mills seemed to be an industrious, hard-working young man, he was also peccant of changing his name when it suited him for no outwardly reasons. Although using the name Robert Mills for much of his time in Wyoming, he did sign letters after 1883 as Robert Glyndur/Glyndwr. However, the name Robert Glyndwr did appear on a petition to the Board of County Commissioners of the County of Albany as early as November 22, 1880. The final letter we have in this collection is dated November, 1883, Meagher Co. Mont. Ter. It too is signed R. Glyndwr. Nothing unlawful, illegal or even slightly out of the ordinary was found regarding Mill's use of aliases. It appeared to be his idiosyncrasy and he carried on this tradition throughout his life even after leaving America and traveling to other countries and other adventures.

According to additional letters, still held by the family in England, Mills kept his word and never did go back to working in the cotton mills. One letter written by him while he was in London, England, stated that he had tried tracking down H. M. Stanley (Sir Henry Morton Stanley, Welsh-journalist and explorer who in 1879 founded the Congo Free State for Belgium) requesting that he be allowed to join a specific expedition to Sudan. However, it appeared in that instance the expedition personnel force was filled and so Mills turned to other things.

He joined the army and ended up in D. Troop, 1st Royal Dragoons. While in the service he apparently invented a cloak that doubled as a tent. In an effort to promote this invention, it was necessary that foreign governments be contacted. Shortly after he left the service and we can only assume it was because of the success of his cloak tent. However, he had had a distinguished service career being awarded several medals for various actions seen during the South African War and the Great War (World War I).

Somehow during his very busy life Mills found the time to get married and father four children. He also wrote several novels. By the time of his death, October 15, 1919, three additional names had been added to his A.K.A. (also known as) list: Colonel A. C. Vaughan, D.S.O. (Distinguished Service Order) medal Welsh patriot; Owen Rhoscomy, historian; and finally Robert Scourfield-Milne (this name apparently is a combination of family names). These are several names that have come to light, but who really knows how many names Robert Mills used?

There are still many things not known about the man Robert Mills who lived in Cummins City. Perhaps his

biographer Robert Morris of Aberystwyth College will be able to unravel some of the mysteries concerning this man who was a wandering adventurer.

From his letters Mills seems to have had a good idea of what was going on in his part of the world. Even though some of his exploits may seem to be somewhat far fetched, who knows, perhaps his sojourn to Cummins City was just the beginning for his life that was to follow.



Robert Mills

Cummins City

Dear Brother,

I have not received your letter, & do not think I shall ever get it. I went down to the Republican. After a little, I quarrelled with my boss about wages. We were out on the prairie, alone, & he drew his revolver, & fired at me. I made my horse rear, so that he received the bullet & fell dead. I sprang off, just in time to save myself from being crushed, & to avoid a second bullet. Seizing my rifle, I plugged the villain in the shoulder, upon which he turned and scooted. He got two hundred yards or so when I plugged him again. It did not kill him, so I let fly at his horse, & hit him as I could tell by his wild jump. But the

"galoot" put spurs to him & succeeded in getting out of reach. A few hours after, there came an outfit of cattle, bound for Laramie, via Cheyenne (pronounced Shian). I joined them, & after reaching Laramie, I struck out for Cummins City, a new mining camp in the Rockies. I am working for \$1½ per day & board, but as winter commences at the beginning of October, I cannot work every day, so I go out hunting and have killed several deer, a couple of elk, & a mountain lion, alias panther, alias puma. Once however, I had a tough rub. I had killed a buck near to a thicket of Pines. I laid down my rifle, & cutting the throat of the buck, commenced cleaning him. In a minute or 2, I heard a horrible rackitt, & looking up saw a thundering great grizzlie making for me. He was about 5 yards away. I jumped up & stabbed him right square in the breast. That maddened him, & he struck at me tearing my coat off. I jumped back, & emptied my revolver into him, hitting him twice in the breast, once in the throat, twice into his mouth, & last right between the eyes which "fetched" him. I took the deer skin, wrapping it round me for a coat. Next day I took a wagon, & brought him into camp, the biggest grizzlie the "boys" had ever seen. We have plenty of bear meat yet.

Last Tuesday was election day, & on Monday I went over to the store (a log shanty). The boys were "setting 'em up" & I could get anything there was in the store, canned fruit, provisions, clothing, & ammunition for nothing. Garfield has been elected & there is a Republican Congress to boot.

Whoops. As I was riding back to our camp, a fellow rode out in front of me, with a revolver in his hand. He held it close to my nose, telling me to "throw up my hands". (I was wearing the grizzlie skin as a cloak, & had concealed my right arm in it.) I threw up my left arm, telling him I had but one. "That so," said he, lowering his pistol. "Wal I want yer hoss, savvy to the rackett" "Yes" I said, "heap good savvy" & like lightning, I put my pistol between his eyes & told him to drop his pistol, jump off his horse, which he did. I caught his horse's bridle rein with my left hand, keeping the roadagent covered with a pistol, in my right, & digging away with my spurs, I was gone, to be followed by half a dozen bullets from the roadagent's pistol, & thus I got a good horse & saddle. I am getting along bully, & hope you are the same. Please answer in your next letter, the questions I asked you in my last. With the hope & wish that this will find you all well in health & spirits. I remain,

Yours etc.

Roving Rob.

P.S. Savvey is Mexican for understand and a Road agent is a highwayman & they swarm around here.

Show this to Swainson and Co, to whom I send my sincere regards.

Rob.

Cummins City, Dec. 21st/80

Mein Brother

I have just received your welcome letter. I am very sorry that you could not get your portrait taken, for I should have thought a great deal of it. I hope you enjoyed your trip to Liverpool. I have struck it rich here. I came into camp one day, & got acquainted with a Mr. Adams,¹² who took a fancy to me, & made me a proposition. He said, that if I would stay with him, & keep his accounts & time, he would give me an education, & keep me in board, lodging, clothes, & pocketmoney, teach me to become a mining expert, also a good assayist, besides giving me a start in life, probably as partner, & if I find any good mines to take them up & develop them. He is a widower with one daughter. He owns large interests in the best mines here, & is whole owner of several others. I shall have very little to do this winter, except pursue my studies, I have taken up German, & shorthand along with other mining branches.

You in England, can not fully estimate the advantages of this opportunity. If I let it pass, I deserve to die in the poor house. I wish you could persuade your father to send you out here, but I promise you, that I will sell the first good claim I get, & send money for your passage. I am still at liberty to hunt just whenever I please. I hope you are getting along all right . . . I must now conclude, so wishing you all a merry Christmas, & a Happy New Year.

I remain

Yours etc.

Your Brother Rob.

Mr. Adams is manager for a large mining Co., the Union Co.

P.S. I thought I had written long ago, telling you to wear the clothes, so you had better wear them now, for I am growing terribly fast, so the boys say. Rob. Wear any clothes of mine they may be left.

Cummins City, Feb 10th/81

Sister Mine

I recieved your letter yesterday, and here return thanks for the card. I never recieved any answer from Aunt Ann. What do you mean by "Philip farming Father's grave." I do not know the exact age of Miss Adams, but think she is about as old as yourself. As for my never coming home you can bet your shekels I shall come home, but not so poor as when I left it. Christmas was the same as another day here, except that it stormed a little harder. We had some pretty hot weather here with the thermometer at 45 deg. below zero. Snow is from 4 to 7 feet deep in the mountains, therefore I can't hunt. In going from place to place we use snow shoes which are made of strips of ash wood, about nine feet long (turned up at the toes) and about six inches wide. About 4 feet from the toe a piece of wood is nailed across to fit the instep and just forward of this are a couple of strips of leather to fasten across the foot, this with a long pole completes the equipment. This pole

is used in decending bald mountains, which is done by straddling the pole, putting the shoes well together and forward, and away you go like a double-barelled streak of greased lightning.

This camp is booming. Last spring the deer, elk, bison, bear & wolves used to frolic here, and now we have a camp of between 2 & 3 hundred inhabitants, with four saloons, 5 stores, a public building where political, religious, & other meetings are held, & a circulating library of 100 volumes. There is a J.P., sheriff & constable & a jail is talked of, & a stamp mill for extracting the gold from the ore, also a sawmill turning out 7000 feet of lumber per day. Preparations are being made for the erection of another stampmill in the spring. A railroad is projected from here to Laramie, where it would effect a junction with the famous Union Pacific, Transcontinental Railroad, so you can see we are "rustling". Wyoming is the least populous of all the states & Territory, the population of the entire Territory (which is 375 miles from north to south, 400 miles east to west) being only 20000 whites. Previous to 1868, it was inhabited solely by Indians of whom the Sioux (Se-you) nation numbering about 43000, was the strongest.

Please to send me some English newspapers, or else some reading in the Lancashire dialect. I guess this is about all that I have to say, so with the hope that this will find you in as good health as it leaves me in. I remain

Yours etc

Rob.

Cummins May 2/81

Sister Mine

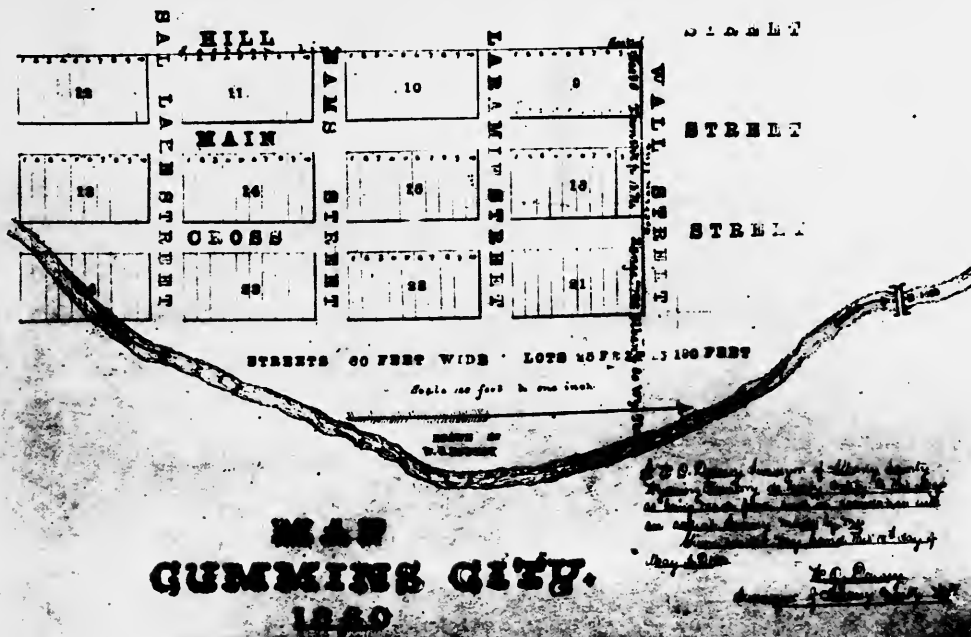
I have just recieved your welcome letter. There is a great difference between Wyoming and England therefore my letter was not reckless but matter of fact . . .

Spring is coming and the snow is going fast. Things have turned up different to what I expected & I don't know where I shall go positively. Yesterday however I came near going "up the flume." I had killed a deer just above the canon (pd. Canyon) of the Big Laramie River 3 miles long & as the camp is near the mouth of it I built a raft & started to voyage down the River. The cliffs on each side rise about 1000 feet & the River bed is sprinkled with huge boulders. The current runs from 8 to 9 miles an hour so my steering pole was useless. I had gone about half way when my raft got wrecked by striking a rock & left me hanging on to a couple of poles. It happened so quick that I don't know how t'was done nor yet how I got out of that terrible Canon, but I know that when I finally got stranded at the mouth of the Canon I did not feel very outrageously lively you bet. My knee was temporarily disabled and I had several other bruises about me. One of the boys who was passing helped me to camp & you can bet your shekels that I don't go down that Canon again. I hope you like your place & are in good health. As I have no more news I will conclude

And remain

Yours et

Rob.



Map of Cummins City, 1880.

Cummins Wyo. May 10/81

Dear Brother

I recieved your welcome letter yesterday. I got 2 Reporters, one with the account of Mr. Swainson's death in it, the other about the wiping out of a knobstick. I am glad to hear of your doing so well. How are you treated at home and how much wage do you get, also how much spending money.

Things have turned out different to what I expected so I do not know where I shall go for. I enclose some clippings which will give you some idea of the kind of "taffy" they fill up with out here. There is a rumour that a party of English "capitalists"¹³ are on there way out here. I hope it is so then I will have a chance to sell out. Spring has come & the grass in the valleys is 2 feet high.

I have nothing more to add so while my heart is shaking hands with you & my spirit is saying "How How"

I remain,

Your loving
Brother Rob

P.S. There are rumours of Indian risings but "cum grano salis"

N.B. knobstick, slang, blackleg or scab.

Post Office, Big Laramie, Oct. 81

Cummins City did not boom this spring, therefore I went to work for Balch & Bacon, the largest cattle owners in Laramie Plains.¹⁴ I am getting \$35 per month and board and have already attended three roundups, one on the Chugwater which works the Black Hills, east to the Nebraska Line; one on the plains; and their own roundup in the famous park of North Colorado. I am sure of getting my money this time as they have quite a fortune deposited in the bank at Laramie City and are willing to pay whenever a man wants it. I was dreaming about you last night, you would not have anything to do with me when I came home, nor come out west with me, do you think such a thing will happen?

The roundup on the Chugwater ended June 15th and the plains roundup ended the first part of this winter when I was able to go for my mail, but had no writing materials and had to start right away for the famous North Park of Colorado to round up the beef which we took to Laramie City for shipping to Chicago.

There are about 16 of us on the Home Ranch where the boys are now making hay (they use machines altogether) pending the arrival of a favourable letter from Mr.

Balch¹⁵ who has gone north to Montana to find a new range for cattle. I am herding the horses until we hear when we shall gather the cattle, about 10,000 head and take the trail for Montana. I am living in an old deserted ranch said to be haunted. It is single story, built of logs and on stormy nights when the wind howls thro' the rooms—rattling and banging doors with their heavy chain fastenings, it does seem as if the Cloven Hoof were out on a jamboree with all his imps.

As for keeping Sunday I don't know one day from another, but I shall find out tomorrow when I go to post this. I sometimes get a little homesick when I think of home.

Cummins City Nov 14/81

Sister Mine

You seem to be having a bully old time travelling. But your travelling & mine are different, for I work while I travel & get paid for it. Mr. Balch did not get back from the north until very late in the fall, & so we do not move the cattle until next spring. Balch & Bacon's foreman told me that he would like to keep me (keep to work) this winter if possible, but when we got back to the Home Ranch, the Messrs Balch & Bacon had concluded not to keep anyone this winter, as they will have to keep so many next winter on account of moving the cattle, but they wished me to come around next spring early, and they will give me a good job, for they said that I had been faithful & willing, & that I knew my work. I drew my wages & reckoned my 5 mos. earnings. When I went to work for Balch & Bacon's, I was "broke", without a cent & without decent clothes to wear, & now I possess a "war-bag" full of clothes, a goodly roll of Blankets, a horse & saddle, a good six shooter & rifle & some little money, & hope to possess in a few days a fine mare also which got away from its owner when it was an unbranded colt. It's owner is since dead, & as I know right where the mare ranges, I shall saddle my horse the first fine day & taking a good stout lariat, I think I shall own that mare "fo'" long. This last two months I have lived much the same as I did the other three I described to you except about 12 different nights. On these nights I would roll out my blankets & crawl in (I never was inside a house the whole 5 months except a few days in the haunted ranch) & next morning I would wake up to find my blankets covered with snow, from 4 to 8 inches deep, with the "beautiful" still coming down like mad. Then the air was filled with blue streaks of sulphur as the "boys" groped in the snow for pans & boots & buckskin shirts, one morning in particular, it had commenced to sleet the night before, which sleet had frozen on our beds & clothes, till it was about 3 inches thick & then it snowed about 5 inches more, so you can imagine what a heavenly time we had of it. Don't be too joyful about my change of name, as I came might near to losing my mail through it, & if I hadn't played with my sixshooter a little, I don't think I would have got it, but sixshooters are trumps out here.

38

I am a small boy of about exactly 5 ft 9 inches & a half high, & I enclose you a Photo which I had taken this summer, I also enclose one of each for Phil, when it was too hot for buckskin shirts, although "chaparejos" as our leg wear is called, are indispensable. I paid a 5 \$ bill for six Photos. (A feller has to pay about a small fortune for everything he buys out here) I enclose a Photo of a saddle like mine. At present I am living with a couple of fellers in a log cabin close to Cummins, & we are boarding ourselves also, cooking for ourselves. I can cook like a house afire & eat, better, It is Sunday today & we had some hucsters to dinner (which I cooked) We had vegetable soup, Roast grouse, potatoes, & pumpkin pie-(Wish you would send me a recipe to make plum-pudding for Christmas.)

I live pretty rough, yet I have not been sick since I "struck" the West. Please show this letter to Phil & tell him that I will write to him in about a month, when I shall know what I am going to do this Winter . . . It is storming hard outside, the stormcloud has settled upon us, covering mountain peak and forest pine in shroud, & promises fair to be a 3 foot snow. What a sullen grandeur & beauty there is in these primitive forests. As you stand upon the edge of one in summer, when the sun is shining brightly upon the belt of quaking aspen which generally surrounds them, & upon the darker green of the hoary patriarchs beyond. Push your way in a little and you find yourself in a kind of twilight darkness, for the sun's rays cannot pierce the dense foliage a hundred feet above our heads, & no grass grows beneath our feet. The trees from 2 to 4 & 5 feet in thickness, standing from 2 to 4 yards apart rise up straight as an arrow, & without a branch or twig till they are about 75 or 100 feet from the ground, when their bush tops twine & interlace with each other, totally excluding the sunlight and then the awful stillness; here are no singing birds (dear little birds) no noise saving the falling of a tree or branch, the trumpet like bellowing of the bull Elk, or if it is night, the scream of the mountain lion, or the howl of the timber wolf. The old Cherokee Indian trail to California, passes over the Big Laramie River here at Cummins, & goes through one of these primitive forests, to the North Park of Colorado. This fall when we were driving a herd of steers to the north Park, we camped the first night on the hillside where the trail enters the forest. I was detailed, along with the German & a Texas feller, for the first relief, night herd. It was in September, 10 deg. below freezing & storming at that. A mountain lion commenced to sing sweetly to his love (or something else) & the cattle stampeded six times before midnight, when it quit snowing & the cattle laid down to rest, I followed their example after being relieved, turning in with all my clothes on, boots, spurs, chaparejos, and everything. "Such is life in the far West." Next morning we bright and early started. I drove the horses (some 150 head) on ahead & the cattle followed me right at my horse's tail, (not a very nice position if they should happen to stampede) & in this way we travelled through the forest gloom. The bellowing of the

cattle mingled with the weird "singing" of the "cowboys" in the rear of the herd (some 2 000 head) made an impression in my mind which I shall not soon forget. Just at Sundown we emerged from the forest (we had crossed it at a kind of a neck between large forests or more properly speaking, all these mountains which comprise the Rocky Mountain Systems, some hundreds of miles wide & thousands long, are covered with dense forests except above timber line, and right as it were in the heart of the Rocky Mountains, are set in succession from north to south the north, middle, south & San Luis Parks; the North Park is a beautiful patch of prairie, some 40 miles wide by 60 miles long, surrounded by giant mountains, whose sides are clad in purple forest as far up as timber line, & from there to the peaks are covered with snow, which snow supplies the many beautiful creeks which flow like the veins of a leaf to the main vein, which is the Platte River. This river rises at the foot of Long's Peak, & flows through the north Park from South East to North West. Over this little prairie roam millions of antelope, and in the mountains round are Elk, deer, Grizzlies, bear, mountain lions, wolves & some few mountain bison, & on the snowcapped peaks live mountain shepp, akin to the Chamois of Europe. At the north end of the Park lies what is called the Neck of the Park. This is a park about six miles long, & from 1 to 5 hundred yards wide, & through this neck the trail enters the Park.) and saw beyond "peak upon peak in endless range" the "Snowy Ranges" of which the Rocky Mountain System is made up, and so ended an ordinary 24 hours of "life in the far West"

Well, I am going to settle down to making money enough to establish me in business at home, how much do you think it will take. Send me a Christmas Card Sis. I am glad to hear that you are now enjoying good health, I always do. Please excuse this miserable scrawl as the day is so gloomy, I can hardly see the lines

But I must now Conclude

And remaining

Yours etc

Robert Mills

Cummins, Wyo. Jan 10th/82

Sister Mine

I received your welcome letter the day after Christmas, & therefore the receipt came a day too late. You can hardly imagine how welcome the reading matter was, although I did not yet study that pamphlet on the "final dissolution" as I do not believe in any such stuff. You will please give my sincere thanks to the young lady who sent me the interesting book I recieved 3 months ago, & please tell me her name if she does not object.

You would like to know how I spent Christmas. Well Kenyon (my "pard" an Englishman too) went to Laramie a few days before Christmas, & came home Christmas eve with his wagon loaded with Christmas goods for the miners, & stowed away among the rest were the ingredients for a Christmas pudding, not so rich as the one you

wrote of but good enough. Christmas day dawned bright & beautiful. The sun beamed down as though he were wishing us a Merry Christmas & a Happy New Year. After Breakfast I mixed the Christmas pudding & dropped it in the pot, in another pot I cooked a brace of grouse, (about the size of a 9 months old rooster each grouse) & I put a hunk of venison to roast. All this time the pudding was bubbling away. About the middle of the afternoon we sat down to dinner, 4 of us 2 Englishmen & 2 Americans & that pudding was a tremendous success, all 4 pronouncing it "way up". A little before sundown the clouds began to gather to the South-West, around the setting sun, & just after dark it commenced to snow, but we only drew our seats (dry goods boxes & Blocks of wood) closer to the fire, & told the weather clerk to "hoop her up", & also gave him the information that we were here before the snow was, & should be here when the "beautiful" was gone. We sat up telling stories of home in old England, Nova Scotia, & New England, & of adventures in "this Western Country" till about 9 or ten o'clock, at which time we turned in, & so ended a Christmas day in the far West. You seem to be very fidgety about my temperance principles, I don't drink nor use tobacco, the boys here know this, & therefore they have quit asking me to do either. I am very sorry to hear of the death of Uncle Gervase, for he was always very kind to my Grandmother & myself, as was Mrs. Etchells & they helped us along a great deal. I had six Photos taken last summer but they were all spoken for long before & so I could not send one to Aunt Sarah's, but I will have some more taken next spring, & will send them one, please tell this to Aunt Sarah the next time you go to Edge Lane. Thank you very much for the Christmas cards, & reading matter. I have not time to write any more as the messenger who will take this to town is ready to depart, so I will now conclude with my best wishes for your welfare

And Remain

Yours etc

Robert Mills

Cummins City May 1st/82

Dear Brother

You are doubtless very anxious to hear from me. Well I have no good news to tell. You see I calculated to sell a horse, & add the price of it to a sum already saved, & send the money to you to come here with, but my horses caught the "pinkeye" & died. Then I got work in the mines, thinking I could save the 20 dollars which was necessary to make up your passage money, just a day or two after I wrote to you. Well I worked a week & then it was found necessary to "timber" the shaft. The mine is situated on the bank of the river, at the mouth of the lower canon, about 4 miles below camp. And therefore I took an axe, & went down there to cut the necessary timbers or logs; & seeing a drift log on the river bank, I thought I would trim it. It was a cedar. I chopped off the top end & the branches first, & then commenced to chop the intricate roots, when the axe glanced & struck my foot. I came

mightily near chopping it off. I was in a thicket of quaking aspen, so that I managed to cut two forked sticks for crutches. There was 4 miles of mountain and "bush" covered bottom land between me & camp, & I thought I would die before I got to camp. I have been laid up ever since. I am now going round on crutches after lying on the broad of my back for quite a while. The wound is closing up, being now only about an inch wide, by six inches long. The sinews are commencing to knit together again, & I guess I'll be all right after a while . . .

Well, better luck next time, & I am only thankful that I had "nerve" enough to carry me through the snow to camp, the day I got hurt . . . I will now close with my best love for you all.

& Remain Yours etc

Robert

Big Laramie Aug 20/82

Sister Mine

I take this opportunity of writing to you, but, as I have lost your letter I cannot answer any questions you may have asked. One thing however, I remember, you seem to be afraid that I should want money from you, but don't be afraid, I have never begged money from anyone yet, & you can just bet that I am not going to commence now. If any of my "hightoned" relations think it, they are just a little off. My foot has got better, though, I still wear a boot 2 sizes too big. I got into debt considerable, & get diheartened every time I think of it. I've had hard luck ever since I came West, first I got beat out of my wages, then got let (down) on Adams, then invested in horses, & lost them through pinkeye, then chopped my foot, & every time I think of it I get homesick. I have kept my promise to you, & the Photos will give you a good idea of what I look like everyday in the camp . . .

And remain

Yours etc

Rob Mills

Cummins City Jan 27/83

My Dear Brother

After this long delay I again take up my pen to let you know that I am still alive. I was attending the round-up last October and one day when I was out on circle all alone I found a solitary Texas steer. He started "on the jump" and I after him. My horse was the fleetest horse on the round-up but terrible vicious and while he was going after that steer as tight as he could pat it down, he put his foot into a hole & fell. It was a rocky ridge where he fell.

The next thing I knew I was lying covered with snow, scarcely able to move. My horse had struck out & gone to the place where we had camped the night before, but the cook had already moved camp ten miles from there. My horse however struck the trail of the horse convoy & followed it up to the new camp. The boys caught him, & seeing the scratches & other marks on the saddle, they "tumbled" at once, & "roping" fresh horses, started to

hunt me. they found me along towards sundown & took me to camp. I had 2 ribs broken, one finger broken & a terrible knock on the temple, & another back of my head. The point of my right hip bone was hurt, & it pains me yet, bruises "heap plenty". But that would have been nothing only the wet snow gave me cold, & so I had to go to town. It laid me up about a month & then I caught another sickness, neuralgia in the head. You see when I went to sleep in a house after sleeping out, I caught a terrible cold, which kept me from getting better. Neuralgia kept me down for another 5 weeks, and the doctor sent me up here to Cummins to recruit up. I am able to work now if I had any work to do. All this of course costs money & so of course I am again over \$150 in debt. I think however I shall shortly make a raise.

Last New Years eve, I and my partner went out to some claims to jump, we found the A claim open to relocation. Another fellow had already relocated it before & it was open to relocation. Well about 7 o'clock that night we armed ourselves & started out. We reached the claim & built a terrible big fire which the men in camp thought was the great comet come back. We relocated the claim without any trouble. This other fellow wants to make trouble about it & so we have written to the Secretary of Interior & his answer will decide it. It is supposed to be one of the best claims in camp & everybody thinks we can hold it.

Yours etc

Robert Glyndur

Cummins City Feb 13th 1883

My Dear Sister

I recieved your letter & paper of Sept. 21 st /82, & hereby return sincere thanks for aforesaid paper. I was in jolly good health when those Photos were taken. You have doubtless seen the letter that I sent to Phil, therefore I will here take the opportunity of saying that I am in perfect health, 5 feet 9 inches high, & weigh 7 score & a half. My claim (or rather my half of the claim) which is called the "Mountain Chief", is reckoned a good one, & I have received an answer from the Secretary of Interior, which is regarded as very favorable by all who have seen it. 'Twas on the afternoon of New Years Eve that we first took a notion to relocate the claim. It was cold enough to freeze the hair off a dog's back, but we started "anyhow". It was a terrible climb from the foot of Jelm Mountain, along the claim to the summit of the "bench", where we found the "discovery shaft", a hole two or three feet deep. We reached it just at Sundown. At 9 o'clock we started four fires, each fire burning three giant pitch-pine trees. They were seen at Cummins nearly 3 miles away; from which place it appeared like one huge fire hanging in the air about one hundred feet above the mountain top. Night glasses were levelled at it by some, while others swore it was a planet or a star, & "Hotsoup" went around offering to bet a hundred dollars that it was the great comet of '82 come back. We waited till 12 o'clock and then put up our monument & notice, after which we stayed by it till 12.20 to make

sure, but as nobody appeared we shouldered our rifles & struck out for town. On arriving there we found that the fire had saved blood-shed, for the superstitious thought that it was a comet, while four fellows who had decided to jump the claim thought that there must be a big bunch of men there already to make such a fire as that. We promptly recorded it & next day went to work on it, & staked it off according to law, thus making good our claim. Ever since I wrote to Phil, it has been snowing & freezing, there having been 5 foot of snow, while the mercury has frozen solid, & some spirit glasses have registered 50 deg. below zero; therefore you will easily judge that there has been no work done. A good many people have been frozen to death. The stage was four days making 28 miles. I will now conclude with my best wishes for your welfare and Remain

Your loving brother

R. Glyndwr

P.S. In what part of Africa was Uncle John killed.

I am a good teatotalter without the blue Ribbon Bob P.S. I recently obtained 3 numbers of the Century Magazine (late Scribner's) for Nov. Dec. Jan. There is a tip-top mining story in it

Balch & Bacon's Ranch April/83

My Dearest Brother

I now sit down to tell you that I am sick & tired of my ill-luck out here, & have made up my mind to come home, "HOME", next winter; don't yell. And I wish to ask you, what do you think I could get to do, for after the last three years, I don't think I could stand to be corralled in a hot mill all day. You see whenever I think of elbow-clouting you round I get so wild that I can't see straight, and then again I want to see your face, & to see Ada, & Mr. & Mrs. Wilkinson, & the Etchells & the rest of them. I long to hear the Church Bells ringing on the Sabbath morning, & to hear the Curfew at the Edge o'dark. I yearn to hear the birds singing, to listen to the skylark as it soars up to heaven, to walk down shady lanes & through the green fields to gather a bunch of flowers. Oh Phil you cannot know what England is, how dear it is to those who have left it far behind; until you too have left it. But I see that I have been wandering & bothering you with my home-sick notions. But I couldn't help it, Phil, its a relief to tell it to some one. I have been working for Balch & Bacon ever since I got well enough, which was about the first of March. How are you making out at the hat biz. Who's the hatter. I got a paper from home a day or two ago and saw in it Advertisements of Cheap trips for Good Friday & "Aster", then we had a three foot snow-storm two days after I got the paper. Last year we had several snowstorms in the middle of June & nothing was thought of it. At Sherman, 50 miles from here, water freezes over every night in the year; it is not any higher than this.

Who do you "run with" Phil, anyone I know. Always remember that any news about yourself, no matter how trifling it may seem to you, is very dear to me. And now

I must close hoping you are in the best of health and remain

Yours longing to be with you

Robert Glyndur

Big Laramie July 20th/83

Sister Mine,

That is by far the best letter I ever received from you. (Will you please send me the correct of received.) You will return my sincere thanks to Aunt Ann for the beautiful card she sent, it is "immense". I suppose you will be ashamed of your luckless brother alongside of James Howarth. Please tell him that if he is not too awe-inspiring I would like to have him accept my best love. That's a terrible attempt at a joke. You will give my best love also to Aunt Ann and the rest of them, You must have had a rattling walk to Oldham, I've a notion to enter you in some six-days-go-as-you-please. I would have liked to have been with you at Blue-Bell Brow. That "Pop" Works was built & started, bottle bed-borders & all, while I was working in Hollinwood. I used to have a fearful pile of fun, trying to break those bottles. I miss the church-bells very much for, since I have been West I have never known when it was Sunday except when I was in town last fall. I would like to have gone to Chester again, but I wouldn't like to have to hunt as long for a bed as I did the last time I was there. I went from Chester to the village where Granny was born, & saw the Church where she used to ring the bell & sing Amen, when the Parish Clerk was on a drunk, & I also saw the old house where she was born, on the hill-road from Bodfari to her home in the Parish of Tremerechum, (Tremerechion). We walked the twelve miles from Mold, for the country was very beautiful. I would like to join you in your picnics, but like you, think kissing so much, is childish & worse. In fact "it makes me tired to think of it." You will please remember me to my kinsfolk at Shaw. I sometimes have the Rheumatics in my bridle arm (left arm) & if I am near a town get coal-oil (petroleum) & rub my arm well with it. If it is unusually obstinate, I apply bandages soaked in coal-oil, which never fails to cure it. Coal-oil is also a good remedy for tooth-ache, rub the cheek & gums with it, (don't be afraid of it, I drank it several times for toothache, but it is no good that way) & take a small piece of cotton well soaked in it & apply to the hollow of the tooth, it generally relieves in the course of half an hour. What is Rachel Bantoff's address. I hope you will never join the Salvation Army, for I think that they are a set of fools & knaves with a few exceptions. We had snow here the sixteenth of June. But about Dan & Patsy, did they get married. I don't think that I shall ever settle down & make anything until some luckless lass takes me for better or for worse etc, which I don't think the lass ever was born that would be foolish enough to do . . . But I guess I'd better rope this yarn & tie it down

And Remain

Yours truly

R. Glyndur

Balch & Bacon's July 23d/83

My Dear Friends

I have just moved my blankets & provisions over to the Kennedy Ranch. I got here just before dark last night & stayed up late last night "fixing". Today I cleaned out a couple of the rooms & the first thing I did was to take

out my pistol, (six-Shooter) & kill nearly fifty wolves, skunks, badgers, rabbits, hares & porcupines, with one wild-cat, which infested the house, for it was swarming with them. They had burrowed into the dirt floor, & dirt roof, as well as in every corner. I shall look after the mares

PHOTOGRAPHS COURTESY KATHRYN CRESS



*Remains of
Cummins City as
photographed in
1987.*



& stallions & also hunt horses & cattle. I like this ranch well enough, except on windy nights, when the doors rattle so much that they wake a fellow up about a score of times, & it makes me mad. Of course all the animals I killed here, did not live in the house together, as they would eat one another, but they were right around the stables, corals & bushes close by. Last night I got no sleep scarcely, for the wolves howled all night around the cabin, making the worst row that ever was. Imagine ten thousand greyhounds being whipped while the same number of curs are howling at the moon, & you will have some faint idea of the noise that cayotes will make.

I am not lame at all, sound in wind & limb, can do most anything. I hope that you are just as healthy. Since I wrote to you last, I have been breaking bad horses. The way they do it is as follows. The horse is lassoed, thrown down, & his feet tied in such a shape, that he can stand but not fight. Then the saddle is put on him, & he is bridled. His feet are let loose for the rider to mount him & woe be to that rider who fails to look the horse square in the eye & watch his every movement, for the horse may get away, or worse he may kill him. If however he is lucky enough to get into the saddle, he will soon think that lightning strikes twice in one place, when the horse begins to "buck", for it will seem as if the earth is trying to throw him into the moon, & when he gets almost there, he gets another shock as if he were fired out of a 100 ton gun, & then everything seems to drop away from beneath him as quick as lightning he follows at about the same speed, and "fetches up" with a shock which makes him think a locomotive struck him, & he sees more stars & comets than would furnish two or three heavens & lucky for him if he comes down in the saddle, for if he does not, he is more than liable to break some bones or get killed by the horse. A horse generally bucks from one to 5 minutes, during which time he will put in about 3000 such motions as I have described; sometimes however, he will keep it up longer, & horses have been known to buck until they dropped dead from sheer exhaustion & it is a common thing to see the blood running from the rider's nose, mouth, & ears, but as you may judge, only the very best of riders can stay in the saddle that length of time. I once stayed that long, but I became senseless when the blood came, & my companions shot the horse just as I was falling off. I don't care where you go, there are no class of men in the world that can ride as well as the Indians and cowmen of America, from Cape Horn to Slave Lake in the British Possessions. But I guess I'd better quit, & Remain,

Yours etc. Bob Glyndwr

P.S. Please forgive the bad grammar & worse writing for I am very sleepy & tired

Bob

I only get a chance to write once in a while, therefore, on the principle that half a loaf is better than none, I send you this bad letter, rather than wait, I don't know how long, for the chance to send you a better one.

R. Glyndwr

Musselshell P.O. Meagher Co. Mon. Ter.
November 20th/83

My Dear Brother

I have just got back to the ranch, from the round-up. I have ridden about five-hundred miles to different post-offices (they are about 60 miles apart in this country) this fall, looking for the letters that I felt sure you had written, but I never got any. I felt pretty glum about it. Well Phil, I don't think I shall be able to get home just yet awhile; I have got a good job making \$40 per month and board. Phil I cannot bear to work in the stifling atmosphere of the cotton mill again, & as I think there is a pretty good show to make something out of the Indians this winter, I shall stay, & try my luck. There is no more danger attached to the project than usual . . . This fall we rounded up a piece of country about 150 miles long, by about 50 or 60 miles wide, & besides this there were 4 trips to make to town, between 5 or 600 miles in the 4 trips, so you may know that we have ridden hard this fall. I will not tell you any of the incidents which occurred during that time. I can tell them well enough when I get home. I hope you are all in good health . . .

I will now sign myself,

Yours etc

R. Glyndwr

JEAN BRAINERD is Research and Oral History Supervisor, Wyoming State Archives, Museums and Historical Department, and an Assistant Editor for *Annals of Wyoming*.

1. Mae Urbanek, *Wyoming Place Names* (Missoula: Mountain Press Publishing Co., 1988) p. 47.
2. "Cummins City Is Seen Through Its 'Window'," *Cheyenne Tribune-Eagle*, Sunday Magazine, August 16, 1987, pp. 6-7.
3. "In Old Wyoming," *Wyoming State Tribune-Cheyenne State Leader*, August 8, 1941, pp. 1, 8.
4. "A Visit to Cummins," *Laramie Sentinel*, April 16, 1881, p.3.
5. Ibid.
6. "Cummins City Is Seen Through Its 'Window'," pp. 6-7.
7. 1880 Wyoming Census.
8. Mae Urbanek, *Wyoming Place Names*, p. 47.
9. Ibid.
10. "In Old Wyoming," August 8, 1941, pp. 1, 8.
11. Mary Lou Pence & Lola M. Homsher, *Ghost Towns of Wyoming* (New York: Hastings House, 1956), p. 209.
12. James Adams was trustee for the Union Mining Company. He became Superintendent in 1881 for the company. "Cummins City Clatter," *Laramie Sentinel*, May 14, 1881, p. 3.
13. Ibid.
14. Balch and Bacon were large cattle owners and according to the Albany County Assessment Rolls, 1880, Volume I, they owned 3,800 head of cattle. Archives & Records Management Division, Archives, Museums & Historical Department (AMH).
15. Balch served as Albany County Commissioner during the early 1880s. Albany County Commissioners Proceedings, Volume I, II, Archives & Records Management Division, AMH.



Entrance to Mummy Cave.

MUMMY CAVE REVISITED

by Susan Hughes

The author wishes to thank the Wyoming Council for the Humanities for providing funds to initiate this research.

In 1963, Dr. Harold McCracken, then director of the Buffalo Bill Historical Center in Cody, Wyoming, initiated a project that would prove to have a valuable impact on Northwest Plains prehistory. Since 1961, McCracken had been looking for an archaeological site to excavate, both to fulfill a longtime ambition and to acquire artifacts for the Buffalo Bill Historical Center. He hired Bob Edgar, a local amateur archaeologist and Wyoming history enthusiast, to find the "perfect" site. Edgar explored the back hills of northwest Wyoming until he found a suitable site. This turned out to be a rockshelter 45 miles up the North Fork of the Shoshone River. The cave seemed to have all the right characteristics for an Indian campsite, and Edgar noticed fire staining on the ceiling. Unfortunately, others had noticed the rockshelter, and a portion of the surface had been dug out, revealing charcoal, bits of bone and stone flakes.¹ The rockshelter was called North Fork Cave No. 1. It was 150 feet wide and 40 feet deep, with the North Fork of the Shoshone lying 50 feet west and 45 feet below the cave entrance.² During the summer of 1963, Edgar and his crew moved their trailer and equipment up to the mouth of the cave. They divided the cave floor into five foot square grids to map the excavated artifacts. Work began in earnest under the supervision of Edgar, with McCracken serving as project director.

At the end of July, their work brought them close to the southeast wall of the cave. As they peeled the dirt away, a bony foot was exposed. With mounting excitement they brushed the dirt away and a partially mummified body was revealed. Further excavation indicated it to be the burial of an adult Indian male. After death, the individual had been placed in a shallow pit facing the cave wall, with his knees drawn up to his chest. A sheepskin robe with the fur side down covered the body. Dirt from the cave floor was heaped on top, and a semi-circle of stones was placed around the front. A fragment of the robe dated the burial to 1230 years before present (BP) or 720 AD.³

On October 1, 1963, McCracken released the discovery to a number of newspapers across the country. Stories appeared in such distant tabloids as the *Chicago Sun Times*, the *Tampa Florida Times* and the *Utica Daily Press*.⁴ Immediately, the excavation took on new meaning. With this unique discovery, McCracken was able to solicit private donations to continue the work at Mummy Cave in 1964. He also applied for a large research and exploration grant from the National Geographic Society.⁵

Work began again on May 1, 1964. Dr. William Mulloy, then head of the Department of Anthropology at the University of Wyoming, visited the excavation on June 13-14, 1964, and provided technical assistance. The five foot grid squares were relabeled and Mulloy taught the crew how to label sacks and artifacts with greater detail and to improve their vertical measurements. From this point on, detailed stratigraphic profiles were drawn of the sides of the excavation units and comprehensive notes were taken.⁶

During July, the National Geographic Society grant

came through. Work continued until November 16, 1964, when winter snows forced a halt. The season's work removed ten feet of sediments from the center of the cave floor, revealing seven major living floors. The bottom levels, numbered 6 and 7 by Edgar, produced McKean projectile points dating to 4420 BP.⁷ One five by five foot test shaft, D9, was excavated to 20 feet below the surface, and it promised seven more living floors to be unearthed during the next field season. On November 9, the crew opened a new test unit, B10 and B11, and this was excavated to culture level 13.⁸

The National Geographic Society came through with additional funding for the 1965 season, which opened on May 17. The crew consisted of Edgar, George Dabich and Wayne Winter, all of Cody. They began taking the five foot square units down through levels 8, 9 and 10, across the cave floor. The season ended on October 4, 1965.⁹

During that winter, McCracken contacted Warren Caldwell of the Smithsonian River Basin Survey in search of a fully accredited archaeologist to oversee the final season of work and to prepare the final report. Wilfred Husted, a River Basin Survey archaeologist who had done the salvage archaeology of the Yellowstone Dam Project in Big Horn Canyon, was hired. The Mummy Cave excavations continued to be funded by the National Geographic Society and private donors.¹⁰

The 1966 field season opened on May 1, with Husted arriving on June 10, 1966, to oversee the excavations. Work was confined to the southern or lowest area of the cave where a 20x30 foot block was removed below culture level 12A.¹¹ At 28 feet below the surface the lowest culture level was encountered (level 24), but no charcoal was present for a radiocarbon date. Charcoal from level 23 dated to $9,230 \pm 130$ BP, which indicated that occupation of the cave extended beyond 9,000 years. A backhoe was brought in to take the cave fill to bedrock, which was reached at 40 feet from the original cave floor. No cultural deposits were present below culture level 24.¹²

John H. Moss, geologist from Franklin and Marshall College, conducted the geologic study of the rockshelter and determined that the shelter had been cut by stream abrasion prior to 10,000 BP. Shortly thereafter, the river changed course away from the cave, sediment began filling the cave, and early man began to use it as a temporary home site.¹³

The team recovered more than 35,000 artifacts during the four seasons of excavation. These included a number of stone tools and flakes, animal food bone and many perishable items that are rarely preserved on archaeological sites, such as leather scrap, moccasins and moccasin pads, hair and vegetal cordage, arrow shafts, wood implements and scrap, ceramics, basketry, coprolites (dried feces) and seeds.

Upon completion of the 1966 field season, Husted returned to the River Basin Survey Laboratory in Lincoln, Nebraska, with most of the artifacts. Edgar followed shortly

to assist him in completing the analysis and report.

Several thousand pieces of bone were sent to Dr. Arthur Harris of the Museum of Arid Land Biology in El Paso, Texas, for identification.¹⁴ Dr. H. E. Wright, Jr., of the University of Minnesota studied pollen samples from the cave, but the results were inconclusive, due to poor pollen preservation.¹⁵

The results of the above studies were combined into a 447 page manuscript authored by Husted and Edgar.¹⁶ The artifacts and manuscript were returned to McCracken in June, 1968.¹⁷ McCracken radically condensed this report, orienting it toward the lay reader, and published it in 1978, through the Buffalo Bill Historical Center under the title of "The Mummy Cave Project in Northwest Wyoming."¹⁸ The nature of this report is such that it has little value for comparative study, but it has revealed the significance of Mummy Cave. The rockshelter provided an unparalleled record of human occupation in the Rocky Mountain region. The 9,000 year projectile point chronology has been used as a standard for point typology throughout northwest Wyoming and western Montana, especially the sequence of early side- and corner-notch points dating between 4,500 and 7,000 years before present. This sequence has been coined the "Mummy Cave Complex" by Brian O. K. Reeves and has been mentioned by others.¹⁹

Cave Stratigraphy.

Stratigraphy refers to the sequence of layers laid down within the rockshelter. Each layer, containing stone tools, bone, charcoal and other cultural debris, represents a different occupation (living floor) of the cave. These layers are seen in the walls of the excavation units and are carefully drawn as part of the archaeological recording procedure. Modern cave excavations employ a geologist trained in interpreting the complex layering of sediments (the micro-stratigraphy), to identify occupations and what has occurred between them. Thin layers are as valuable as thick ones in unraveling the occupational history of the cave.

During the original Mummy Cave excavation, the major layers were labeled 1 through 24, with 1 representing the most recent occupation. McCracken obtained an excellent sequence of 25 radiocarbon dates (five were considered inaccurate) from most of these levels.

Radiocarbon dates are obtained from charcoal found within hearths or scattered throughout an occupation level. The radioactive isotope, carbon 14, which is present in all living things, decays at a constant rate upon death, and a date can be derived by counting the amount of the isotope present in the sample. Sophisticated laboratory equipment is necessary for the procedure.

Harold McCracken, director of the Mummy Cave Project, standing in front of the east-west profile of N25. The D9 test shaft is situated in front of him.



View south across the cave floor during an early stage in the excavations. Bob Edgar, supervisor of the project, is standing behind the transit.



The 24 occupation levels encountered during excavation varied in thickness. Some were thick, consisting of a number of layers grading into one, while others were very thin and discontinuous across the cave floor. These latter might only be indicated by a layer of pine needles mixed with a few flecks of charcoal and an occasional bone or tool. As trees do not grow within the cave, a layer of pine needles suggests that branches were carried into the cave by humans or animals.

The stratigraphic profiles drawn by Edgar and his crews reveal a number of these thin layers, intergrading with and lying between the original 24 labeled lenses. Sometimes the crew would label these with alphanumeric letters. For example, the layers between culture level 8 and 9 were labeled 8A through 8C. The stratigraphic profiles indicated that considerably more occupations occurred in the cave than the original 24 labeled during excavation.

When Husted wrote his report, he expanded the original 24 levels to 38, providing each alphanumerically designated layer its own number. He also reversed the number sequence to conform to River Basin Survey procedure, calling the oldest level 1, and youngest 38. When McCracken published his manuscript, he reversed Husted's 38 levels, logically calling the most recent level 1, and the oldest level 38. The artifacts in the collection are still labeled 1 through 24. These changes in level designation have caused considerable confusion.

Close examination of the excavation profiles reveals that 38 occupations might be a conservative estimate of the number of occupational episodes actually occurring within the cave. For example, level 3, which is given a single number by all parties, is actually a very thick layer composed of four to five thinner layers which grade into one another. Firepits are constructed at different depths throughout, and this level probably reflects repeated use of the cave rather than a single long term occupation.

Features.

Archaeologists define features as non-movable artifacts. Examples would be firepits, storage structures, post-holes, stone features and so forth. Many of the features uncovered during the Mummy Cave excavations are described in the excavation records, feature records used by Husted, and profiles. The prehistoric occupants of the cave constructed numerous firepits or hearths throughout most levels of the cave. Firepits were of several types:

1. Shallow basin or surface hearths filled with ash and charcoal.
2. Deep basin hearths filled with ash and charcoal.
3. Basin-shaped hearths filled with stones. These may have been roasting or stone boiling pits.

Other features revealed in the excavations were a moccasin cache and the previously described burial in level 3, a

firewood cache in level 4, basin-shaped storage pits in levels 6 and 7 and a rock alignment in level 18.

Recent study of the burial by specialists in Toledo, Ohio, revealed him to be an Indian male, between 35 and 40 years old, standing approximately 5 feet 5 inches tall. No bone abnormalities or injuries were present, and because so little soft tissue remained on the body, cause of death remains unknown. Study of coprolites found within the body cavity indicate the predominance of vegetal food in the diet, of which some was cooked, the presence of *Trichuris trichiura* (Whipworm) and a high percentage of spruce pollen, which pollinates in the spring.²⁰ This information tentatively suggests the burial took place in the late spring.

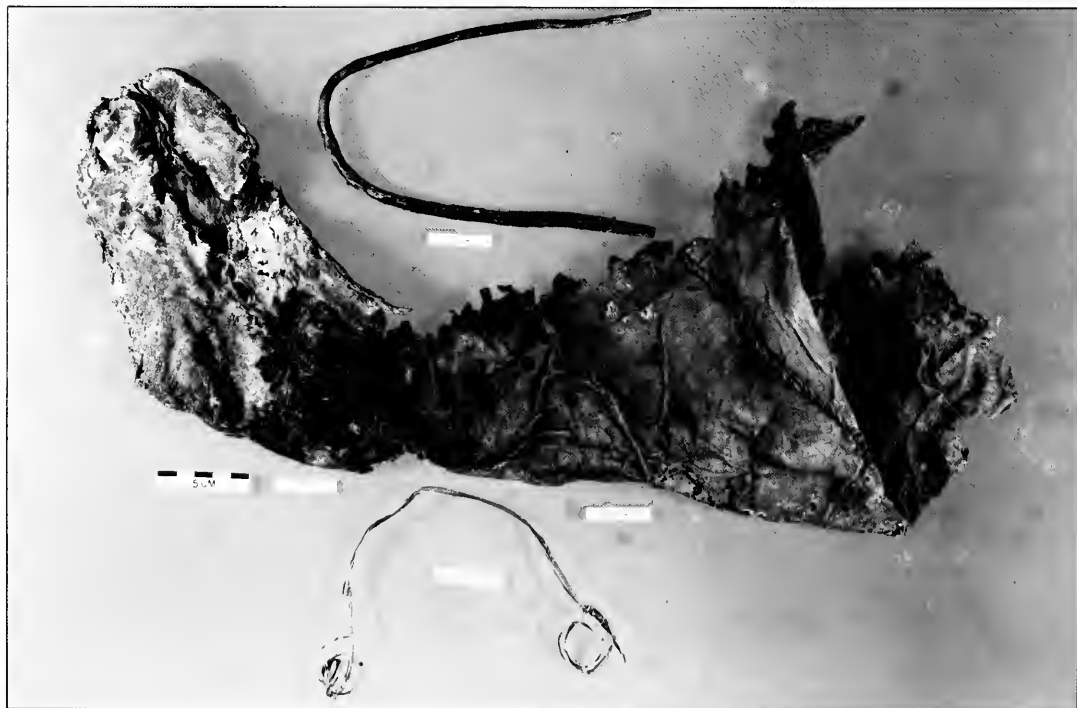
The burial also revealed valuable information on personal adornment during that era. Two rabbitskin ornaments had been placed over the ears. His hair was cut short in front, and a twisted piece of bark cord (possibly cottonwood) held back the remainder. The sheepskin robe covering his body had been pieced together with an overhand stitch and stained with red ochre. The burial is no longer available for public viewing at the Buffalo Bill Historical Center out of respect for American Indian religious principles.

The moccasin cache consisted of two high-top leather moccasins placed under a large stone slab. One moccasin was badly decomposed, and a bent U-shaped willow stick

was found in the sole where it had been placed to maintain its shape. The moccasins were constructed of mountain sheep hide with their hair turned inward. Grass pads found in the debris of this level are thought to have been used to cushion the moccasin soles.²¹

Storage pits were basin-shaped depressions, constructed to store seeds and other plant foods. When the food was consumed, the pit often became a receptacle for trash. Storage features indicate the need of prehistoric hunters and gatherers to store plant resources for the winter. The presence of storage features in a particular level might indicate a winter occupation. Other seasonal indicators within a particular level might be the presence of fetal animal bone, tooth eruption patterns on large ungulates and pollen or seeds.

During the 1966 field season, an interesting feature was discovered in level 18. This consisted of a line of stone slabs set on edge. They extended diagonally, northwest-southeast, across N25 to 30 and E5 to 10. The feature was 5'2" long and 4" wide.²² It was placed 3 feet in front of a large hearth and may have been constructed to block southwest winds. A ram sheep skull was found on the surface upside down, 7 inches south of the slabs in deposits associated with layer 17. Because of this association, Dr. George Frison of the University of Wyoming has suggested the feature may have a ceremonial function.²³



One of two sheepskin moccasins cached under a stone in culture level 3. The u-shaped stick (above) had been inserted in the foot to preserve its shape. Below is a piece of untwisted bark cordage.

Artifacts.

Artifact studies in archaeology today are concerned with understanding the acquisition of material, manufacturing technology, use, reuse and discard of the object. Archaeologists are also very interested in determining the variation between artifacts of similar types in assemblages or between different living floors. This requires detailed study of all artifacts and their patterning on the cave floor. The cave excavations uncovered 18,500 stone tools and flakes and an additional 234 fragments of red ochre. They include a wide variety of projectile points probably used to tip weapons, bifaces which represent early stages in point and tool manufacture, endscrapers used for hide scraping, bifacial knives for cutting, graters for incising wood or bone, drills for making holes and a number of tools with more than one type of working edge. Most of these tools indicate a hunting and gathering economy with hide work, sewing, the manufacture of bone and wood tools and many other activities.

Preliminary study of the stone used to make tools indicated that Yellowstone Park obsidian was commonly obtained. Other common materials were clear chalcedony, forest green chert, petrified wood, quartzite and a variety of fine-grained volcanic material which are all found on the North Fork. Less common were materials abundant on the eastern periphery of the Bighorn Basin, such as gray, gold, and blue Morrison chert and quartzite, maroon Phosphoria, and mottled pink and blue Madison chert. The proportions of these materials were indicative of the direction of trade or movement of the Mummy Cave occupants and how familiar they were with the local environment.

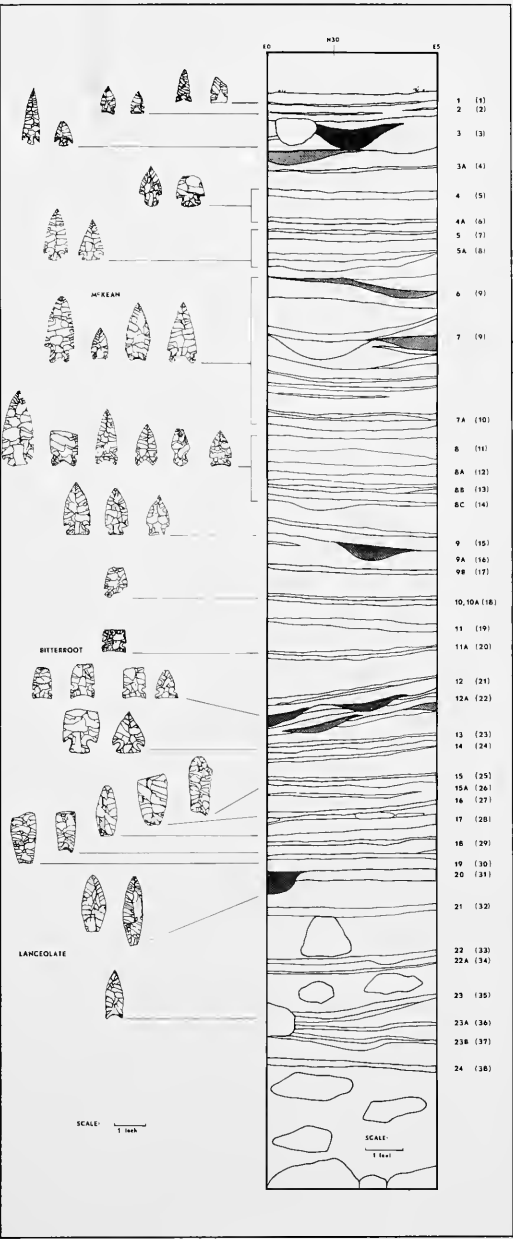
Projectile points are important in the study of prehistoric cultures because they are believed to hold stylistic elements of the culture which manufactured them. Point styles can sometimes be used to give an approximate date of an occupation. The projectile point sequence from Mummy Cave was especially valuable because it was well-documented with radiocarbon dates.

The sequence began with a 1200 year period of lanceolate points (7970-9230 BP) followed by a variety of side- and corner-notched points between 4600-7630 BP (the Mummy Cave Complex). One of the earlier types is similar to Bitterroot points, common in Idaho, and is characterized by a distinctive side-notch and squared base. The levels following Bitterroot revealed considerable variation in point morphology, ranging from side, corner-notched and stemmed points. This variation culminated in the McKean Complex, dating at 4100 and 4400 BP (levels 6-7). McKean was replaced by a culture or cultures exhibiting a distinctive corner-notch point style, represented by two levels dating to 2820 and 2050 BP (levels 4 and 5).

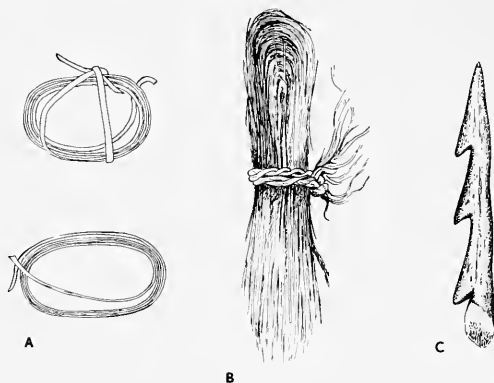
From level 3 on, all projectile points were small, indicating the probable shift from an atlatl dart to the bow and arrow. The first arrowmakers were those who buried the mummy 1230 years ago. Their points are corner-notched with serrated edges and long barbed shoulders.

The final two occupations within the cave represented brief visits by cultures manufacturing a side-notched arrowpoint.

In addition, 48 pieces of ground stone were removed from the occupation levels. These were primarily river cob-

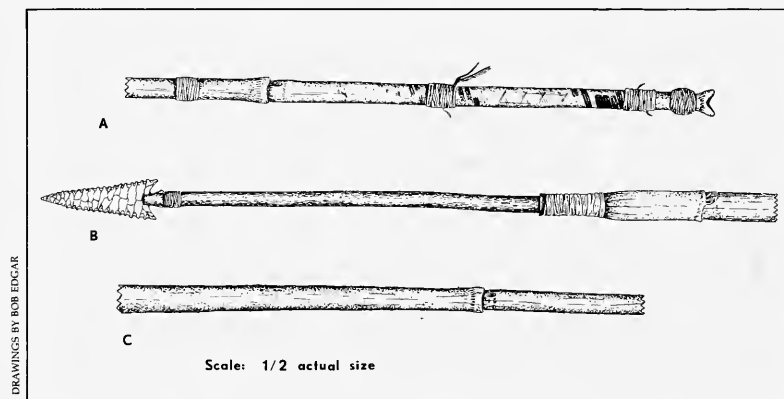


A section of cave profile EO-5 at N30. The levels are labeled with Edgar's system. McCracken's system is given in parentheses. Examples of projectile points associated with the levels are illustrated on the left.



Scale: 1/2 actual size

Miscellaneous artifacts from culture level 3: a) two yucca fiber coils used in basket weaving; b) grass brush; c) bone harpoon.

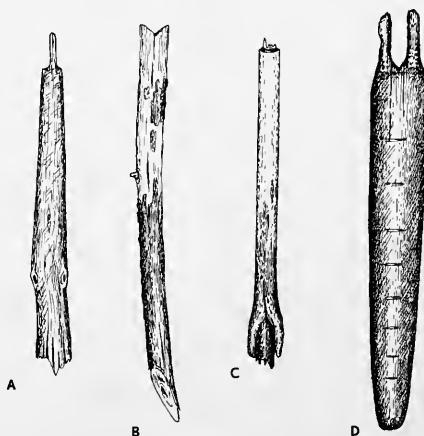


Scale: 1/2 actual size

Three arrowshaft fragments (below) from culture level 3: a) cane hindshaft revealing the posterior notch, sinew wrapping for feather fletching and zigzag decoration applied in red paint which probably identified the owner of the arrow; b) willow foreshaft revealing its insertion into a cane hindshaft (the sinew wrapping prevents splitting below the notch and at the insertion of the foreshaft); c) attachment of a willow fore- and hindshaft.

Wood tools and discarded ends; a) discarded anterior end of a willow arrowshaft cut to make a notch for hafting a projectile point; b) V-notched and pointed stick of unknown function; c) discarded end of a willow arrowshaft exhibiting a circular cut; d) handle for a bone or stone tool. The first three were recovered from level 3 and the handle from level 5.

Scale: 1/2 actual size



bles that had been used to grind, chop or cut. One slab of volcanic rock was decorated with a portion of a pictograph featuring red and black arrows.

Bone tools numbered 165 with approximately 16,000 pieces of faunal food bone. The tools consisted of needles and awls used in sewing, pendants, beads, a harpoon, antler flakes, four tubular bone pipes (one still retains its ash) and several unidentified tools.

Dr. Harris identified approximately 2,000 bones for the original report. All animals represented were indigenous to the North Fork area. Mountain sheep were the most common animal utilized for food with remains occurring in every level except 22A and 23. Other animals represented were deer, elk, moose, bison, bear, dog or wolf, beaver, porcupine, rabbit, woodrat, rodents and various birds.²⁴ Butcher marks, impact fractures and burning on many bones indicated human activity. Future study of these will reveal butchering and food processing practices, food preferences and possibly season of use. The bone also revealed evidence of damage by a variety of carnivores after it was discarded on the cave floor.

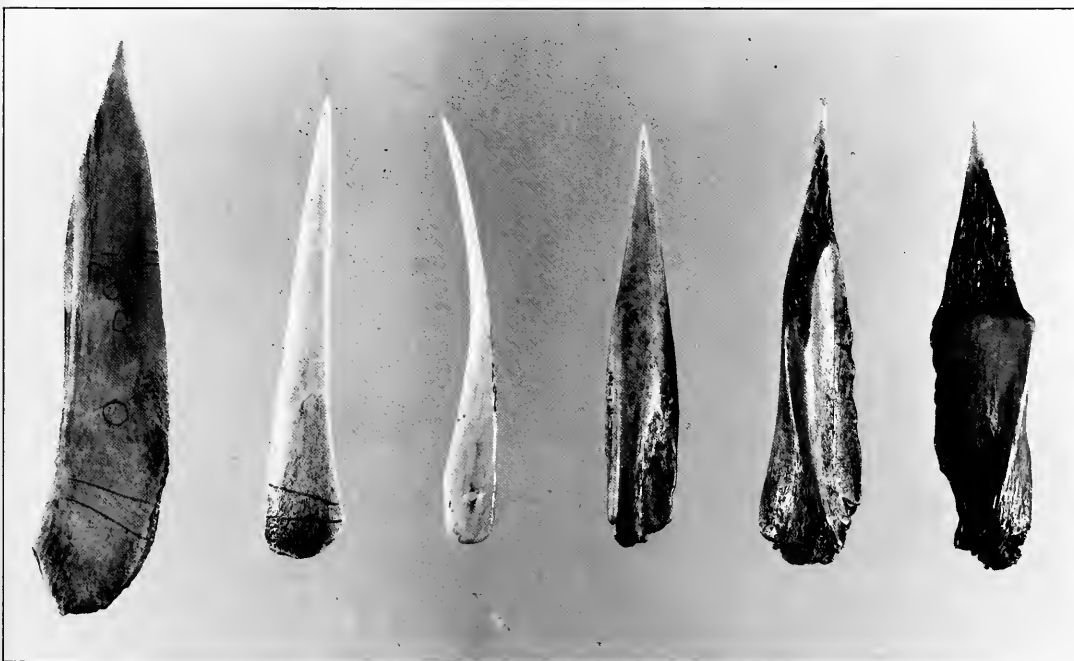
Forty-four wood tools and 81 discarded ends from tool manufacture were recovered from levels 1 through 8. Prior to this the wood was not preserved. Tools included composite arrowshafts (composed of more than one part), knife handles, snares and wood pegs. The discarded ends revealed several methods of cutting shafts and notching for the insertion of projectile points.

Cordage was recovered from levels 3, 5 and 6-7. Bark cordage was most abundant (123 pieces). Next in abundance was twisted hair cordage (41), followed by sinew cordage (22). Two-ply twisted strands were the most common type. Vegetable products were also used to manufacture brushes or formed into bundles of raw material for the manufacture of baskets and cordage.

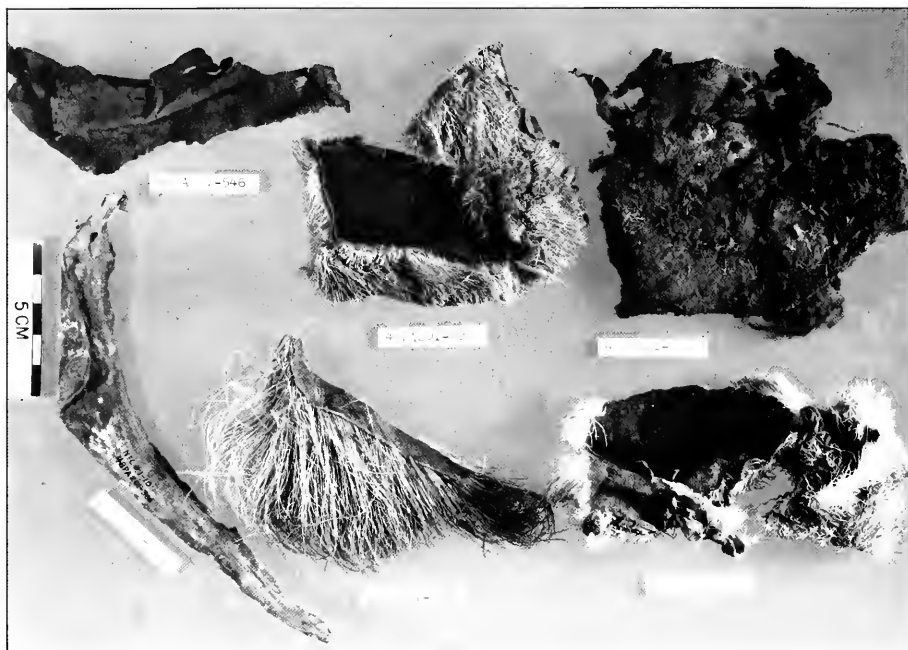
Fifty-five pieces of scrap hide and hair tufts were recovered from levels 3 and 6-7. These were apparently discards in clothing and bag manufacture. One tuft of hair had been dyed pink indicating the use of pigments for fabric ornamentation.

Levels 3 and 6-7 revealed several fragments of coiled basketry. The single specimen from level 6-7 was coated with pitch on the inside surface to make it impermeable to liquids. Level 3 produced the remains of two baskets. One basket appeared to have been a large flat tray with red staining on both sides, and other fragments, too small to determine shape, were coated with pitch.

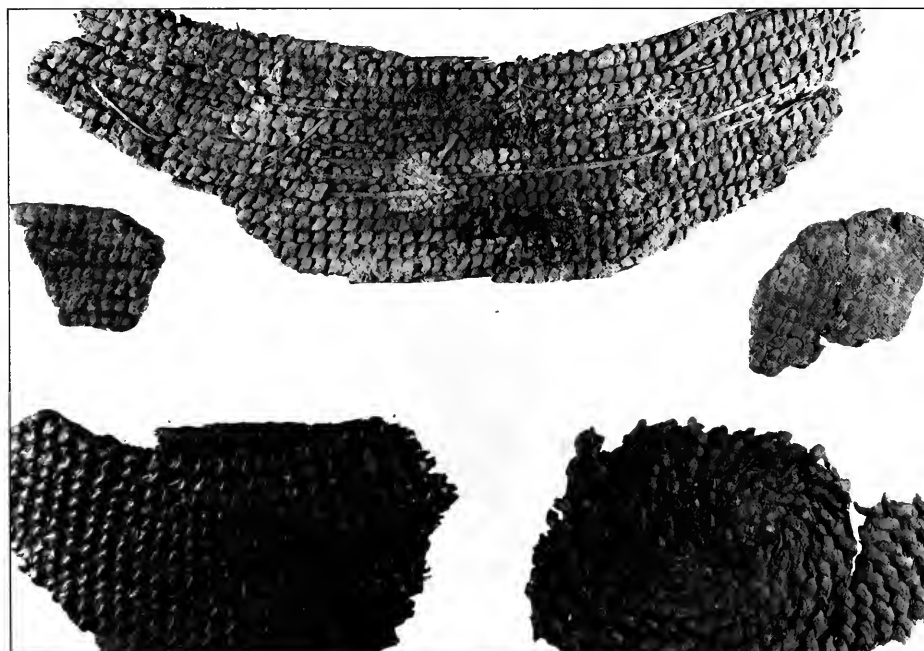
The remains of a single thick-walled flat-based ceramic pot were recovered from the top level dating at 370 BP. The inside of the vessel was heavily encrusted with a carbon residue left from cooking foods. Future chemical analysis of the carbon will reveal whether plant or vegetable matter had been cooked. Excavation records note the discovery of onion husks in level 2, seeds and fish bone from other levels; however, these have not been located in the collection.²⁵



Six bone awls from culture level 3. The two on the right are decorated with incised designs.



Six hide scraps possibly representing discarded remnants in garment manufacture.



Five pieces of coiled basketry from culture level 3. The upper three pieces were stained a deep red, the lower left fragment was coated with pitch to make it impermeable to liquids and the fragment on the lower right is the basal piece of a flat tray.

Eighteen shells or shell fragments were recovered from levels 3, 4, 6-7, 9, 13 and 16. Only those from levels 3, 4 and 6-7 had been modified into ornaments. Level 3 produced fourteen feathers which were used for fletching arrows. A number of human and non-human coprolites were recovered from four levels, and these have tremendous value in reconstructing diet.

Tremendous scientific potential exists in the collection and a complete analysis is pending. Modern analytic methods will be used to reveal as much information as possible about the prehistoric inhabitants and their lifestyle. These methods require the use of sophisticated equipment, laboratory procedures and comparative collections. A complete and detailed study of the artifacts will require considerable time and some expense. The study is valuable because the results could easily define the culture history and lifeway of the early inhabitants of northwestern Wyoming. Their food preferences, technology, butchering, cooking methods, familiarity with their environment and its resources, material culture, and possibly annual movements will be revealed.

Although there is much yet to learn about the cave inhabitants, some information can be gleaned from the earlier reports and this preliminary observation of the artifacts. Peoples from many cultures throughout the last 9,000 years visited the cave at various times of year. Some spent an entire winter, while others visited for short periods during other seasons, perhaps as a stopover while moving from mountain areas to the Big Horn Basin.²⁶ The occupants were familiar with the North Fork valley plant and animal resources, which they consumed during their visits.

Sheep hunting was an important procurement activity. Archaeologists are aware that the historic Shoshone Indians, who occupied this area over the last 500 to 600 years, hunted large numbers of mountain sheep in wooden traps constructed on high mountain ridges throughout the Absaroka Mountains.²⁷ It is possible that earlier inhabitants of the area also practiced similar methods of sheep procurement. Edgar discovered a 9,000 year old net in the North Fork valley which might have provided an alternative method to trap sheep.²⁸

The point styles throughout the 9,000 year span can be found in varying frequencies at other rockshelter and open camp sites in the Big Horn and Absaroka Mountains, plus the Bighorn Basin, which indicates that these people were at home in northwestern Wyoming. The Mummy Cave point sequence provides a framework to plug in point types recovered from other sites or from undated surface contexts.

In short, the inhabitants of Mummy Cave were knowledgeable and well-adapted to the environment and resources of northwestern Wyoming. They lived within a stable, mountain-oriented, hunting and gathering tradition. There may have been an ebb and flow in the intensity of this cultural tradition as some cultures died out or moved on, only to be replaced by another group.

The inhabitants who occupied level 3 in the cave may be an exception to the above tradition. Their artifacts and lithic materials are atypical of Northern Plains culture. Unusual artifacts include incised steatite beads, incised bone awls, a harpoon tip, fish net weights, composite cane arrows and a point style with affinities to the Great Basin. These characteristics suggest a group with direct connections to the West. Whether they represent a hunting or trade expedition into the Bighorn Basin or a group taking up residence in the area for a short period is unknown.

In summary, Mummy Cave provides us with a glimpse of our prehistoric heritage. It reveals a long and stable record of a successful hunting and gathering lifeway in northwestern Wyoming utilizing the local natural resources. Its artifacts still hold many secrets about the people who manufactured and used them, but future analysis of the collection will unlock that information.

SUSAN HUGHES holds a M.A. degree in anthropology from the University of Wyoming specializing in Northern Plains archaeology. Since 1981, she has resided in Cody teaching archaeology and geology classes at Northwest Community College in Powell and conducting archaeological research in the Bighorn Basin and eastern Montana. This fall she entered the University of Washington in Seattle to work towards a doctorate in archaeology and hopes to use portions of the Mummy Cave collection for her dissertation research.

1. Bob Edgar, personal communication, September, 1987.
2. John H. Moss, "The Geology of Mummy Cave," *The Archaeology of Mummy Cave, Wyoming: An Introduction to Shoshonean Prehistory*, by Wilfred Husted and Robert Edgar, unpublished manuscript, Buffalo Bill Historical Center, Cody, Wyoming, p. 12.
3. "Mummy Cave Field Notes, May 1, 1964-1966," unpublished excavation records, Buffalo Bill Historical Center. Hereafter, these will be referred to as "Field Notes."
4. Copies of many of the news stories were compiled into a scrapbook on file at the Buffalo Bill Historical Center.
5. This information was taken from the archaeological account records of the Buffalo Bill Memorial Association dated March 31, 1962, to December 31, 1964, Buffalo Bill Historical Center.
6. "Field Notes."
7. The cultural materials from levels 6 and 7 were nearly identical, and the two were frequently lumped together. Throughout the remainder of this article they will be referred to as level 6-7.
8. "Field Notes."
9. Ibid.
10. Harold McCracken, two letters written to Warren Caldwell, dated January 13, 1966, and May 28, 1966, Buffalo Bill Historical Center.
11. "Field Notes."
12. Bob Edgar, personal communication, September, 1987.
13. Moss, "The Geology of Mummy Cave," pp. 12-25.
14. Arthur H. Harris, "Tetrapods," *The Archaeology of Mummy Cave, Wyoming: An Introduction to Shoshonean Prehistory*, by Wilfred Husted and Robert Edgar, unpublished manuscript, Buffalo Bill Historical Center. There is no record of the exact number of bones sent to Harris for identification, although, in his report he mentions that several thousand fragments were sent, of which nearly 2,000 were identified.

15. H. E. Wright, Jr., "Pollen Analysis of Mummy Cave and Nearby Areas, Northwestern, Wyoming," *The Archaeology of Mummy Cave, Wyoming: An Introduction to Shoshonean Prehistory*, by Wilfred Husted and Robert Edgar, unpublished manuscript, Buffalo Bill Historical Center.
16. Wilfred Husted and Robert Edgar, *The Archaeology of Mummy Cave, Wyoming: An Introduction to Shoshonean Prehistory*, unpublished manuscript, Buffalo Bill Historical Center.
17. Two letters to Harold McCracken from Warren W. Caldwell and Wilfred Husted, dated May 31, 1968, Buffalo Bill Historical Center.
18. Harold McCracken et al., *The Mummy Cave Project in Northwestern Wyoming* (Cody, Wyoming: Buffalo Bill Historical Center, 1978). The volume is presently out of print.
19. Brian O. K. Reeves, "Head-Smashed-In: 5500 years of bison jumping in the Alberta plains," *Plains Anthropologist Memoir* 14 (1978): 159. See also George C. Frison, *Prehistoric Hunters of the High Plains* (New York: Academic Press, 1978), p. 45 and Sally T. Greiser, "Projectile Point Chronologies of Southwestern Montana," *Archaeology in Montana* 25 (1984): 38.
20. Eve Cockburn et al., "The Mummy from Mummy Cave: Preliminary Reports," *Paleopathology Newsletter*, Number 60 (December 1987): 4-10.
21. Rick Weathermon, "Moccasin Analysis: Specimen from Culture Layer Three, Mummy Cave, Wyoming," unpublished manuscript in possession of the author, 1986.
22. "Feature Records" of the Mummy Cave Project, Buffalo Bill Historical Center.
23. George C. Frison, personal communication, 1984.
24. Harris, "Tetrapods."
25. "Field Notes."
26. Leslie C. Shaw and George C. Frison, "Evidence for Pre-Clovis in the Bighorn Basin," (paper presented at the 44th Annual Society of American Archaeology Meeting, Vancouver, British Columbia, April 23-25).
27. George C. Frison, Charles A. Reher and Danny Walker, "Bighorn Sheep Hunting in the Central Rocky Mountains of North America," (paper presented to the Southampton Conference, England, 1987).
28. George C. Frison et al., "A Late Paleoindian Animal Trapping Net from Northern Wyoming," *American Antiquity*, 51 (April 1986): 352-360.

DON'T GAMBLE

With your savings: The principle is
wrong and the results are always
disastrous. Invest your
money in

COAL

As Staple as Flour and Sugar



Birdseye View of Property

...THE...

Wyoming Coal & Development Co.

**OFFERS A SURE AND UNQUESTIONED
INVESTMENT**

Presented by

Recent donations to the historic collections of the Wyoming State Archives, Museums and Historical Department include records of two Wyoming coal companies—the Wyoming Coal and Development Company and the Kemmerer Coal Company. These collections are now available for research.

The Wyoming Coal and Development Company operated in Albany County, two and one-half miles east of the town of Rock River and 35 miles northeast of Laramie from 1921-1924. The company operated a business office in Cheyenne. The collection contains general correspondence, board minutes, bank statements, receipt books, check books and cash books.

The Rock River Coal and Fire Clay Company originally owned and operated the property and equipment. This company, incorporated on March 23, 1921, also had a business office in Cheyenne at 1817 Pioneer Avenue. At a meeting on July 23, 1923, the noteholders agreed that an organization should be created to take over, under lease and with the option to purchase, the property of the Rock River Coal and Fire Clay Company. This was done and the Wyoming Coal and Development Company organized as a Declaration of Trust on July 27 with capitalization of 25,000 shares, all common. The Board of Officers and Trustees included A. F. Peabody, President; W. E. Dinneen, Vice-President; W. Armor Thompson, Secretary; Frank A. Roedel, Treasurer; G. W. Godfrey, General Manager; and Trustees Charles Eldridge, Charlie Bach, William C. Frieze and A. E. Roedel.

The Kemmerer Coal Company collection contains records not only from that company, but also from other Kemmerer businesses, the Frontier Supply Company, the Ham's Fork Cattle Company and the Uinta Improvement Company, all founded in 1897. The bulk of the collection consists of large bound ledgers, journals, cash books and registers.

A chance meeting on a train with Patrick J. Quealy during one of Mahlon S. Kemmerer's Wyoming hunting trips developed one of the largest coal mining operations in the United States. The two men formed a partnership, and in 1895 at the Great Northern Hotel in Chicago, they drafted the "Ham's Fork Land Proposition," a document which stated a company store would be built and maintained once coal operations started. Two years later Quealy and Kemmerer began coal production and developed a camp and town.

Incorporated with \$150,000, the Kemmerer Coal Company was developed to mine, transport, sell and dispose

of coal, coke and other minerals. The Frontier Supply Company served as a general merchandise business. The Uinta Improvement Company handled the land interests of the partners. Kemmerer, his son John and Quealy had a one-third share in all four companies. With the ideal partners and a single directorate they believed the cattle (Ham's Fork Cattle Company), coal, land and mercantile com-

panies would complement each other.

The two collections can be researched at the AMH Department. If you have any questions or would like more information, please contact Roger Joyce of Historical Research and Publications, AMH Department, Barrett Building, Cheyenne, Wyoming, 82002. Phone (307) 777-7020.



ANNALS' REVIEWS

The Legacy of Conquest: The Unbroken Past of the American West. By Patricia Nelson Limerick. New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1987. Illustrated. Index. Notes. Bibliography. 349 pp. Cloth \$17.95.

It is difficult in a short review to explore fully the merits of this important book. Patricia Nelson Limerick of the University of Colorado has given us an able synthesis of several decades of published scholarship on the American West in the 20th century. Ironically, she concludes, and rightly so, that the abundance of case studies is an embarrassment of riches. Frederick Jackson Turner's frontier thesis, concentrating on the process of westward expansion and what it signified, by definition excluded the 20th century. This watershed implied a sharp break at 1890 when the frontier closed, and has caused chaos and conceptual fog for those historians who seek to assess the broader meaning of recent monographic studies on the period since 1890. This, Limerick argues, has precluded our looking at the West as a place with unique regional characteristics such as its remoteness from the centers of power, heavy reliance on natural resources for its economic base, the presence of many non-whites, aridity and the myth of self-reliance.

Limerick urges her readers to adopt an analytical framework for understanding the modern West by appreciating the continuum of conquest in the 19th century and the resulting consequences of that conquest in the 20th century. This approach, long overdue, permits us to get away from the oversimplified notions of abundance, success, good guys versus bad guys, and scapegoating of the federal government for many of the area's problems. Hard labor only infrequently brought its expected rewards. Stiff competition and desperation for economic development both helped rape the environment and encourage law-breaking. The ever-present boom-bust cycle of what is essentially a colonial economy set the pattern of dependency on federal handouts to help stabilize the region's economy.

The presence of racial and ethnic minorities further enhanced western diversity and complexity. Native Americans persisted, despite earlier near unanimous predictions to the contrary. Hispanics continued to increase their numbers and add their imprint on culture and politics. The presence of other groups from Asia promised ever-increasing diversity in the future. The West's White conquerors have more than met their match in these groups because of minorities' retention of non-mainstream

lifestyles. This complex symbiotic relationship added another important, and largely ignored, dynamic to local human relationships.

Readers of this journal can read *Legacy of Conquest* with much profit. Few states have had their post-1890 history more ignored than Wyoming. With a few important exceptions, our written history overemphasizes the story of fur trappers, military campaigns against Indians, "Hell on Wheels" Union Pacific towns, and an assortment of colorful, if not really important, characters. Many of these 19th century episodes and anecdotes seem in their telling to be wrapped in the mantle of rugged individualism, the absurd and the spectacular, divorced from the context of their times. Whatever the "real West" was in the past century, its heritage continued to our times. Enormous chunks of land passed into the hands of private parties and corporations, impressing upon Wyoming a markedly imbalanced distribution of natural resources. Federal presence here, predating even the territorial period by decades, has meant that dollars and jobs originating in Washington have been an integral part of the local economy, despite periodic pledges of independence from national control. Members of minority groups seemingly have always been here, but we know so little about them and the significance of their presence. The story of state politics, either attempting to respond to or ignore the 20th century, remains an untold story. The economic and psychological effects of Wyoming's chronic boom-bust cycle remain ignored, as does the impact of a north-south regionalism, strongly in evidence for more than a century. Competing economic interests, water development and other crucial issues of modern times also readily spring to mind.

Those who pursue state history have been remiss in their duty by not closely examining Wyoming in this century. We need to rise to Limerick's challenge so as to develop the story of Wyoming as a place, to discover what makes it unique and what it shares in common with the rest of the nation. This book is highly recommended as a point of departure to examine these issues. *Legacy of Conquest* should cause the thoughtful reader to reconsider many common assumptions.

LAWRENCE A. CARDOSO

The reviewer is Professor of History, University of Wyoming.

Land of the Burnt Thigh. By Edith Eudora Kohl. St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 1986. Originally published: Funk & Wagnalls, Inc., 1938. Illustrated. xxxvi and 296 pp. Paper \$7.95.

Women's roles in the West have attracted considerable attention in recent years as historians attempt to paint more completely the portrait of western expansion and settlement. Businesswomen, ranch women, prostitutes, wage workers, army wives and women homesteaders have been painstakingly examined in this long overdue and much needed effort to illuminate, enliven and complete our understanding of the West.

This last category—women homesteaders—is the subject of Edith Eudora Kohl's endearing narrative about her experiences in South Dakota during the first decade of the 20th century. In a simple, readable style, Kohl describes not only her trials as a "girl homesteader," but also her tribulations as a struggling newspaper editor and keeper of a general store.

In ways that academic historians too often miss, this book offers an engaging look at the great gamble known as the land rush and at daily life in a "tarpaper shack that becomes an oven when the sun shines on it." Malign nature and unprincipled claim jumpers kept the homesteaders vigilant; open spaces and compassionate neighbors kept them from leaving. Kohl's portrayal of all of these kept the book interesting.

Kohl believed and her writing demonstrates that cooperation and interdependence were the touchstones of success in the settlement of the West. The striking dependency on widely-scattered neighbors which she vividly describes gives lie to the stubborn myth that rugged individualism tamed the frontier. During her years in South Dakota she worked to enhance the cooperation necessary to overcome the whims of nature and the machinations of various groups opposed to the homesteaders' efforts.

Land of the Burnt Thigh provides ample evidence of women homesteaders' courage and determination as they struggled to overcome natural and "man" made obstacles. Indeed, the most revealing parts of the book deal with the gritty efforts of Eudora Kohl and her sister Ida Mary to earn the money that allowed them to stay on their claim long enough to file the "final proof." Like many women homesteaders, they depended on income other than that which could be earned from farming. Lacking the equipment and sometimes the experience to make a living by farming, women on the plains relied on skills they brought with them or learned new ones that enabled them to teach school, run newspapers, operate stores and serve as postmistresses.

This 1986 reprint of a book first published fifty years ago contains an insightful, 23 page introductory essay by historian Glenda Riley. Bringing years of research on women's history and western history to bear, Riley thoughtfully and skillfully places this book in historical and historiographical perspective. The publishers are to be com-

mended for adding this valuable introduction to an already solid first-hand account of life on the South Dakota prairie.

The reprinting of *Land of the Burnt Thigh* is a good supplement to the growing body of literature which demonstrates the active and crucial role women played in settling the West.

DENNIS FROBISH

The reviewer is a consultant to the Wyoming Centennial Commission and the Wyoming State Archives, Museums, and Historical Department and a Visiting Assistant Professor in History and American Studies at the University of Wyoming.

Casper: A Pictorial History. By Edna Gorrell Kukura and Susan Niethammer True. Norfolk/Virginia Beach: The Donning Company Publishers, 1986. Illustrated. Index. Bibliography. 192 pp. Cloth \$29.95.

Casper Country: Wyoming's Heartland. By Jean Mead. Boulder, Colorado: Pruett Publishing Company, 1987. Illustrated. Index. Bibliography. 193 pp. Paper \$19.95.

People interested in local aspects of Wyoming's history have several recent works to add to their libraries. Two of these titles are about Casper and are Edna Gorrell Kukura and Susan Niethammer True's *Casper: A Pictorial History* and Jean Mead's *Casper Country: Wyoming's Heartland*.

Casper: A Pictorial History is a collection of more than three hundred photographs acquired from a large number of sources, including private collections, the University of Wyoming's American Heritage Center, the Natrona County Pioneer Museum and the Wyoming State Archives, Museums and Historical Department. Arranged in chronological chapters, these photographs depict Casper's development in the form of street scenes, group and individual portraits, building exteriors and interiors, and special events such as parades, rodeos, oil-tank fires and law-enforcement raids on bootlegging operations. Each photograph is accompanied by an elaborate textual explanation that reflects Kukura and True's extensive research.

Kukura and True provide the reader with a brief historic narrative to introduce each of their book's eleven chapters. The thematic glue that binds these chapters together is the authors' perspective that harmony and cooperation represent the essence of Casper's history. The authors present a consensus-history framework as illustrated by their statement: "With deep and steady resolve Casper harnessed the aggregate of her collective and seemingly boundless energies. At the very heart of her soul her ascent to preeminence began unfolding. A vibrant and innovative citizenry sought fresh approaches to social and economic problems." This point of view emphasizes the positive side of Casper's history and forms a provocative narrative structure for the photographs in *Casper: A Pictorial History*.

Jean Mead chose a much different approach for her study, *Casper Country: Wyoming's Heartland*. She pro-

duced a narrative history that put photographs in a supporting role. Taking newspapers as her primary source of information, she placed great emphasis on the role of conflict in Casper's history. "Casper," she commented early in her book, "was a wide-open, free-wheeling, railroad town, plagued with deadly illnesses, dishonest politicians and lawmen, bull-headed citizens, boom and bust eras, with problems, and a lawless element that persisted for much of the city's history." This problematic aspect of Casper's development provided Mead with excellent material for a rich volume on a community's political, legal, social and economic history. Mead used her sources effectively to discuss such controversies as the fight to build a county courthouse in the early 1900s, disputes over water systems and street improvements, and heated debates on the formation of a city-manager form of local government. Although her accounts of these and numerous other incidents are fairly brief, *Casper Country* presents an excellent starting point for further, more expansive studies of discord in local history.

Taken together, *Casper: A Pictorial History* and *Casper Country: Wyoming's Heartland* balance each other and form the first general history of Casper since Alfred James Mokler's *History of Natrona County, Wyoming, 1888-1922*. Both of these recent books are worthy additions to the growing collection of histories on various Wyoming topics. While each is perhaps a little too brief to be considered definitive, they suggest a multitude of possibilities for expanded research into Casper's history. Further, they demonstrate William Manchester's contention that all a historian can offer is only fragments of the past and the hope that these fragments will endure. Kukura, True and Mead have offered enough to present an interesting picture of the trials and accomplishments of a major Wyoming community.

WALTER JONES

The reviewer is Head of the Western Americana Department, University of Utah Libraries.

Starting Right: A Basic Guide to Museum Planning. By Gerald George and Cindy Sherrell-Leo. Nashville, Tennessee: American Association for State and Local History, 1986. Index. Illustrations. 141 pp. Paper \$10.95.

With the great proliferation of museums of various kinds, this book presents a basic study guide for the development of any museum. Not only the novice, but the professional museologist should gain information.

The two authors have given a basic guide to establishing a museum. Their research and experience have covered not only the United States, but also foreign countries. They have set forth suggestions for both an outstanding museum located in a small town or those in a large metropolitan region.

The blueprint is there to be used as a guide. It would appear that some museums would have to be concerned with local prerogatives and customs in establishing a museum. The guidelines are interpreted for reasonable solutions, but it would seem there are problems in cultural, ethnic, religious and political aspects that may require the wisdom of a wise director and board of trustees to solve.

It emphasizes the evaluating of things and imputing significance to the items you collect in a museum. The book provides an excellent bibliography and the names of organizations from which a person may receive help.

Many of the problems which any museum would face are reviewed including collection policies, physical facilities, administration personnel, conservation, continuing research, use of volunteers, planning, evaluations and one of the most practical, financial support in terms of present and long range.

The basic organization of the museum is discussed in terms of its similarity to any business enterprise and provides information for effective operation along these lines. The matter of personality problems is critical in any type organization or enterprise, and the authors' suggestions made in this regard are well taken in avoiding and dealing with these problems.

The activities of museums are analyzed and information is provided about collection and acquisition policies as well as documentation, loans and borrowing procedures, security, insurance access, deaccession rules and the ethics to be observed by staff and trustees.

With museum personnel becoming more sophisticated in their approach, you may have visited many museums where you question why they exist. Is it just to serve the personal satisfaction of an individual or group without educating or serving the community or public? There is some question why it exists. Preservation simply for the sake of preservation is questionable.

In establishing a museum twenty years ago, this book would have been a most valuable asset. In a very simplistic way it gives you the information about beginning a museum, and in an ordinary way poses the questions you need to ask. It makes a person reason why you should start a museum. It helps to answer the question of what a museum is. It collects significant things, prepares to care for them in perpetuity and uses them for the public good.

It is my opinion that this book should be on the book shelves of anyone thinking about developing or operating a museum.

HENRY F. CHADEY

The reviewer is Director, Sweetwater County Historical Museum, Green River, Wyoming.

Populism in the Mountain West. By Robert W. Larson. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1986. Bibliographical Essay. Notes. Illustrations. Map. Graphs. 210 pp. Cloth \$27.50.

Leading Populist historians such as John D. Hicks (*The Populist Revolt*, 1931) and Lawrence Goodwyn (*Democratic Promise: The Populist Moment in America*, 1976), have attributed Populist strength in the Rocky Mountain West to that region's support of the party's position on silver. The Populists wanted the government to use silver to expand the nation's money supply, many silver mines existed in the Rockies, and, thus, Populist success would bolster the region's economy. Robert W. Larson believes this thesis is an oversimplification of the matter; that those in the Rocky Mountains who supported Populism advocated a variety of issues in addition to silver. Thus, while he reluctantly admits that silver was the most important Populist issue in the Mountain West, Larson seeks to prove that the movement in the region was a multifaceted one.

Larson limits his examination of the Mountain West to four of the region's eight states and territories. He concentrates on the so-called Front Range areas (Montana, Wyoming, Colorado and New Mexico) and only briefly mentions the others (Idaho, Utah, Nevada and Arizona). Therein lies the major problem with this volume. Larson argues that the Front Range states were typical of the region; yet he notes that they had more large wheat-growing and stock-grazing areas than did the other states and, consequently, more support from farmers and ranchers attracted to Populist positions on agricultural issues. This fact alone would seem to belie the argument that the Front Range states were typical. Moreover, two of the Mountain states won by the Populist presidential candidate in 1892 (Arizona, Utah and New Mexico) were territories at that time and did not have presidential elections) were Idaho and Nevada—major silver-producing regions. An examination of Populism in the Rocky Mountain West which fails to look at the reasons for the party's success in either of these states is, at best, incomplete.

The real reason Larson examines only three states and one territory in this volume is that much research has already been done on Populism in those areas, and Larson is merely synthesizing prior studies. He has done almost no original research for this book, although it must be noted that one of the works he relies upon here is his own *New Mexico Populism* (1974). Larson's notes and bibliographical essay, both of which are excellent, indicate that some research has been done on Populism in Nevada and Utah. Had he included this material in his synthesis and conducted original research on Idaho and Arizona, his task would have been much more difficult, but the results would have been more satisfying. With only 144 pages of text, much room existed for Larson to expand his work. One cannot escape the conclusion that *Populism in the Mountain West* is only half a book.

The author also fails to eliminate a few factual errors. On page 136, for example, Larson speaks of the success

of Populism in Idaho in 1892 when, he says, Henry Heitfield was elected to the U.S. Senate and James Gunn and Thomas Glenn were chosen for the U.S. House of Representatives. None of the three, in fact, was elected to Congress in 1892. On page 107, he mentions New Mexico's current 32 counties, unaware that another was created in 1981.

Yet, despite these concerns, the volume is worthwhile and is, in fact, a significant contribution to the literature available on the late 19th century political history of the Rocky Mountain region. Larson succeeds in showing that Western Populists were concerned—to some extent, at least—with a wide range of reforms. And while one wishes for more than this volume offers, half a loaf is better than none.

ROGER D. HARDAWAY

The reviewer is Instructor of History and Political Science, Eastern New Mexico University-Clovis.

The City and The Saloon: Denver, 1858-1916. By Thomas J. Noel. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1985. Illustrated. Index. Bibliography. Notes. xiii and 117 pp. Paper \$6.95.

From Denver's beginnings in the 1850s until Colorado enacted statewide prohibition in 1916, the capital city's ubiquitous saloons played an important role in the social and economic life for many of its residents. At the frontier stage, tavern keepers provided more than whiskey and beer; they gave patrons the latest news and advice on a variety of matters. Later, these souls counseled customers, especially the foreign-born, and even acted as neighborhood bankers. Indeed, the saloon often served as a multifunctional institution. Although these "waterholes" were numerous, they tended to be concentrated in Denver's business core, largely because of that section's traffic patterns—railroad stations and the web of streetcar lines—and because "better" citizens, who equated poverty, vagrancy and crime with saloon going, resisted their spread into other parts of the metropolis. Wherever the location, saloon owners, as a group, generally prospered, or at least eeked out a living. "Tavernkeeping was more often than not an avenue of upward mobility." (p. 43) Unquestionably, saloons offered a way for individuals with modest amounts of capital and entrepreneurial experience to enter the business world. Obviously, the coming of prohibition wrecked the lives of many saloon owners, although some successfully made the transition to dry times as operators of pool halls, sandwich shops or other small retail businesses.

Author Thomas J. Noel skillfully tells the story of Denver saloons. His research is impressive and imaginative. For one thing, he wisely consulted the confidential credit reports made by R. G. Dun & Company, and thus much more is known about the business skills and overall background of prominent saloon keepers. With ample material Noel poses good questions and he analyzes this raw data thoughtfully. The book further benefits from a

pleasing prose style; it is a joy to read. Some of the illustrations do lack clarity, and their layout is uninspired. Nevertheless, *The City and the Saloon* will find a wide audience, not only from professional historians—those interested in the West, urban America, temperance and the like—but also from the general reader. This study is “nearby” history at its best.

H. ROGER GRANT

The reviewer is Professor of History, University of Akron.

The Rise of Multiple-use Management in the Intermountain West: A History of Region 4 of the Forest Service. By Thomas G. Alexander. Washington, D.C.: United States Department of Agriculture, Forest Service, 1987. Illustrated. Bibliography. Notes. 276 pp. Paper \$13.

The story of the Intermountain Region of the U.S. Forest Service is that of opposing forces battling to control the resources of a vast area of the American West. Created in 1908, Region 4 of the Forest Service encompasses the states of Utah and Nevada and parts of Idaho, Wyoming, Colorado and California. The patterns of land use are the stages of successive frontiers as described by historian Frederick Jackson Turner. The land of Region 4 was utilized by trappers, miners, cattlemen, sheepherders and lumbermen. Each group left its mark on the region.

Today, competing interests vie for control of the land's resources: timber, grass, minerals and scenic beauty. Who should have first rights? Should the land be open to timber harvesting or preserved for its pristine beauty? The answer might depend upon how one views a clear-cut. Nevertheless, it is the responsibility of the Forest Service under the guidelines of multiple-use to propose and carry out a management plan that attempts to satisfy these competing needs. Thomas G. Alexander presents a well written account of the evolution of multiple resource management in the intermountain West.

This encyclopedic history overflows with names, dates and statistics. This attention to detail makes this publication of interest to the specialist as well as to the general reader who has a casual interest in the development of the intermountain West. For those who might want to pursue a subject in more depth, Dr. Alexander presents a bibliography that includes books, government documents as well as a list of oral history interviews and unpublished materials, many of which are housed in local Forest Service offices. To assist the reader reference notes are presented at the end of each chapter. An excellent collection of black and white photographs complements the text.

This publication, one in a series detailing the history of the U.S. Forest Service, presents in a chronological order the management of Region 4. Topics such as grazing, timber management, recreation and fire control are discussed in each chapter thus tracing the improvements and policy changes. This technique organizes the facts and

gives the reader a feeling of continuity and presents a “whole” instead of “pieces” of the story.

The first chief of the Forest Service, Gifford Pinchot, is pictured on the cover of the book and I think he would nod his approval of this publication.

PATRICIA ANN OWENS

The reviewer is History Division Chair, Wabash Valley College, Mt. Carmel, Illinois.

Calamity Jane and the Lady Wildcats. By Duncan Aikman. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1987. Originally published: New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1927. Illustrated. 356 pp. Cloth \$26.50. Paper \$8.95.

I may be overly critical of this book as I realize that the author, Duncan Aikman, did not have microfilmed copies of old newspapers available for his use when he wrote this publication. Unfortunately, when Watson Parker reprinted the book by arrangement with Lonelle Davison Aikman, he reprinted without too much thought as to whether it was fact or fiction.

Even though Parker mentioned that if Aikman had stuck entirely with known and demonstrable truths about them (Calamity Jane and other wildcats), his book would not have been more than a pamphlet. That may be true, but, the truth and more detail would have been better.

For instance, the 1860 Mercer County Census lists Delilia as the mother of the Canary family and the father is listed as J.T. In Aikman's book, somehow Delilia became “Charlotte” and J.T. became “Bob.”

Calamity Jane (Martha Canary) is reputed to have stated that she was born in 1852, the oldest of the Canary children. On the census Victoria is listed as 15 years old and born in Ohio. The first girl born in Missouri to the Canary family is named S.V., female, aged two years.

On the 1869 Census, Wyoming Unorganized Territory of Wyoming (Carter County), taken by the State of Nebraska, Martha is listed as being located in Piedmont, Wyoming Territory. It also states her working for the railroad and is 15 years old. This official statement makes it seem most unlikely that she was in Kansas marrying William Butler (Wild Bill) Hickock.

My biggest problem, however, is with Mr. Aikman's description of the route that the Canary family took when they went to Salt Lake City. He was probably correct in not having them go north of the Platte River in 1864, as the Indians could have been troublesome. But, then he writes, the big emigrant trains almost invariably followed the Overland route. Shelter and supplies were to be had that way at the various Pony Express Stations. (This would have been very difficult to accomplish as the Pony Express Stations had been closed October, 1861.) He then stated that “this meant that they went in almost a straight line from Independence or some slightly more western outpost

to Julesburg, Colorado, and then through Cheyenne . . . the future—and now past—South Pass City on down the Green River Valley of Wyoming and Utah into Salt Lake City.” In actuality, the Pony Express followed the Oregon Trail much farther north than the Overland Trail. It did not go near Cheyenne of the future. Aikman could have meant Casper, Wyoming Territory, and been a little more accurate, but then that would not have placed it along the Overland Trail.

During that time period, many women were called “Calamity Jane” whether their names were Jane or not. It appears that “Calamity Jane” was a common nickname and Martha Canary was often confused with other women. As she became famous she certainly made good newspaper copy. The editors of many newspapers made up stories for

“fillers” and due to perhaps, some unsubstantiated stories about a Calamity Jane, it makes it hard to confirm that Calamity Jane (Martha Canary) actually performed some of the exploits that are attributed to her. This reviewer is not too familiar with the other “Lady Wildcats” but after reading Calamity Jane’s story, I figured they too were fiction.

Although *Calamity Jane and the Other Lady Wildcats* was fairly good reading, I prefer history to be as close to the truth as possible, therefore, I did not enjoy the balance of the book.

ELLEN MUELLER

The reviewer is Past President of the Wyoming State Historical Society.

BOOK NOTES

Wyoming Place Names. By Mae Urbanek. Missoula, Montana: Mountain Press Publishing Company, 1988. Originally published: Boulder, Colorado: Johnson Publishing Company, 1974. v and 233 pp. Paper \$9.95.

This long out of print, useful sourcebook on the many Wyoming place names has been reprinted, and updated. The author gathered information from a wide variety of sources, and although she recognizes that there may be mistakes and misinformation, it still is the best such book there is.

A Rocky Mountain Christmas: Yuletide Stories of the West. By John H. Monnett. Boulder, Colorado: Pruett Publishing Company, 1987. Index. Illustrated. Bibliographical Notes. xi and 119 pp. Paper \$7.95.

Many Yuletide stories of the Rocky Mountain West during the 19th century are included in this volume. The author looks at the holiday traditions of the mountain men, explorers and early settlers and how these traditions were adapted to the western region.

With Custer's Cavalry. By Katherine Gibson Fougere. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1986. Originally published: Caldwell, Idaho: The Caxton Printers, Ltd., 1940. Illustrated. 285 pp. Cloth \$23.95. Paper \$7.95.

This account is taken from the memoirs of Katherine Gibson, wife of Captain Francis M. Gibson of the Seventh Cavalry, U.S. Army. The author describes army life in the 1870s and 1880s, along with details about women at the army posts waiting for news about Custer's last battle. Also included are the letters her husband wrote to her describing the scene of the battle. He was there immediately following the fight.

The Drums Would Roll: A Pictorial History of U.S. Army Bands on the American Frontier 1866-1900. By Thomas C. Railsback and John P. Langellier. Poole: Arms and Armour Press, Ltd., 1987. Illustrated. Bibliography. Notes. Appendices. 56 pp. Cloth \$14.95.

The U.S. Army Bands located at western military posts

in the years following the Civil War played an important role in the social life of those installations. The authors provide information about that role as well as details concerning uniforms, instruments, formations and descriptions of the music and composers.

Historic Dress of the Old West. By Ernest Lisle Reedstrom. New York: Blandford Press, 1986. Index. Illustrated. Bibliography. Footnotes. 155 pp. Cloth \$19.95.

This book chronicles western dress among the Plains Indians, fur trappers, western emigrants, goldseekers, buffalo hunters, frontier soldiers, gamblers, outlaws, cowboys and more. The author also provides details of the lives of each of these groups. Illustrated by the author.

Fort Union Trading Post: Fur Trade Empire on the Upper Missouri. By Erwin N. Thompson. Medora, North Dakota: Theodore Roosevelt Nature and History Association, 1986. Index. Illustrated. Bibliography. Appendix. Notes. iv and 95 pp. Paper \$5.95.

Established as a fur trading post by the American Fur Company in 1829, Fort Union served as a trading center for more than 38 years. This book records the history of the fort along with the area's fur trade and Indian and non-Indian cultures. Since 1966, Fort Union has been part of the National Park System.

Jackson Hole, Crossroads of the Western Fur Trade 1807-1840. By Merrill J. Mattes. Jackson, Wyoming: Jackson Hole Museum, 1987. Illustrated. Maps. Footnotes. 57 pp. Paper.

The Jackson Hole Museum has taken two articles by Merrill Mattes previously published in the *Pacific Northwest Quarterly* in 1946 and 1948, and printed them in this volume. The book covers all of the known exploration of the Jackson Hole area from 1807 until 1840 and details the trading and trapping activities of the area.

INDEX

A

- "Adventures of an Englishman in Cummins City: Letters from Robert Mills," edited by Jean Brainerd, 32-43
Aikman, Duncan, *Calamity Jane and the Lady Wildcats*, review, 61-62
Alexander, Thomas G., *The Rise of Multiple-use Management in the Intermountain West: A History of Region 4 of the Forest Service*, review, 61

B

- Bailey, Warren, 18
Baker, John, 28
Barrett, Governor Frank, 20
Bonner, Governor John, 20
Boone, Andrew, 23
Boulder Lake, 3-4, 8
Brainerd, Jean, ed., "Adventures of an Englishman in Cummins City: Letters from Robert Mills," 32-43
Buffalo Bill Historical Center, 45-46
Burleigh, Walter, 23, 26; photo, 24

C

- Calamity Jane and the Lady Wildcats*, by Duncan Aikman, review, 61-62
Caldwell, Warren, 45
Call, Wilkinson, 29
Cardoso, Lawrence A., review of *The Legacy of Conquest: The Unbroken Past of the American West*, 57
Carson, Kit, 3, 6
Casper: A Pictorial History, by Edna Gorrell Kukura and Susan Niethammer True, review, 58-59
Casper Country: Wyoming's Heartland, by Jean Mead, review, 58-59
Cassidy, Butch, 13-15
Chadey, Henry, review of *Starting Right: A Basic Guide to Museum Planning*, 59
Chamberlain, Fannie, 16
Chapin, Fred, 17
Christiansen, Ezra, 16
Christmas, Judge H. Robert, 20
The City and the Saloon: Denver, 1858-1916, by Thomas J. Noel, review, 60-61
Cokeville Mercantile Company, 12-13
Cokeville, Wyoming, 12-20; photo, 14
Collett, Gene, 12-13
"Congress and the Indian: The Politics of Conquest," Robert L. Munkres, 22-31
Copper King Mine, 33
Crittenden, Thomas, 23, 25
Cummins City, Wyoming, 33-43; photos, 32-33, 37, 42
Cummins, John, 33-34

D

- Dabich, George, 45
Dalton, Bert, 19
Daniels, Lewis H., 15, 19
Davis, Jefferson, 26-27
Dawes Act, 29
Dawes, Henry, 27
Dinwoody Glacier, 6
Doolittle, James, 24-25, 28
Dullenty, Jim and Mary Stoner Hadley, "Wyoming's Outlaw Brothers," 12-21

E

- East Fork River, 3
Edgar, Bob, 45, 47, 53

F

- Frémont, John C., 2-11
"Frémont in the Wind Rivers," James R. Wolf, 2-11
Fremont Peak, 3-4, 6; photo, 7
Frison, George, 48
Frobish, Dennis, review of *Land of the Burnt Thigh*, 58
Frontier Supply Company, 55-56

G

- Gannett Peak, 6, 8
George, Gerald, *Starting Right: A Basic Guide to Museum Planning*, review, 59
Gill, Ann, 34
Gill, John, 34
Gillet, Ransom, 26
Granger, Francis, 23, 26
Grant, H. Roger, review of *The City and the Saloon: Denver, 1858-1916*, 60-61

H

- Hadley, Mary Stoner, and Jim Dullenty, "Wyoming's Outlaw Brothers," 12-21
Haggerty, Earl, 19
Ham's Fork Cattle Company, 55
Hanson, Dan, 16, 19
Hardaway, Roger D., review of *Populism in the Mountain West*, 60
Harlan, James, 24, 27, 29
Harris, Arthur, 46, 51
Harrison, Albert, 26
Henderson, James, 26
Howard, Jacob, 24
Howe, Timothy, 24
Hughes, Susan, "Mummy Cave Revisited," 44-54
Husted, Wilfred, 45, 47

I

- Indians, 22-30
Indians—Tribes
 Blackfeet, 27
 Cherokees, 24
 Crows, 27
 Oneidas, 25
 Shoshone, 53
Ingersoll, Ebon, 26
Island Lake, 6

J

- Jackson, President Andrew, 22-23
Janes, Ralph, 18
Johnson, Reverdy, 29
Jones, Keith, 33
Jones, Walter, review of *Casper: A Pictorial History*, 58-59
Jones, Walter, review of *Casper Country: Wyoming's Heartland*, 58-59
Junction Lake, 4, 8

K

- Kemmerer Coal Company, 55-56
Kemmerer, Mahlon S., 55
Kemmerer, Wyoming, 55

Kidd, William, 17-18

Kohl, Edith Eudora, *Land of the Burnt Thigh*, review, 58

Kukura, Edna Gorrell, *Casper: A Pictorial History*, review, 58-59

L

Lajeunesse, Basil, 6

Land of the Burnt Thigh, by Edith Eudora Kohl, review, 58

Larson, Robert W., *Populism in the Mountain West*, review, 60

The Legacy of Conquest: The Unbroken Past of the American West, by Patricia Nelson Limerick, review, 57

Lester Pass, 4, 6, 8

Limerick, Patricia Nelson, *The Legacy of Conquest: The Unbroken Past of the American West*, review, 57

Long, Tex, 17

Lumpkin, Wilson, 24, 27

M

McCracken, Harold, 45-47

McDougall, James, 25

McDuffie, George, 20

McGill, Edgar, 18

McGreevy, James, 33

Manning, Charles, 16-20; photo, 17

Manning, Leo, 16

Matthew, Vickie, 34

Maxwell, Lucien Bonaparte, 3

Mead, Jean, *Casper Country: Wyoming's Heartland*, review, 58-59

Meadors, Albert, 20

Mills, Robert Scowfield, 34-43; photo, 35

Milton, Sam, 17-18

Moore, George, W., 33

Morgan, John, 29

Morino, Hernando, 19

Moss, John H., 45

Mt. Woodrow Wilson, 6, 8; photos, 5-7

Mueller, Ellen, review of *Calamity Jane and the Lady Wildcats*, 61-62

Mulloy, William, 45

Mummy Cave, 45-49, 51, 53; photos, 44, 46-52

"Mummy Cave Revisited," Susan Hughes, 44-54

Munkres, Robert L., "Congress and the Indian: The Politics of Conquest," 22-31

N

National Geographic Society, 45

Nelson, Loyd, 16

Noblitt, A. D., 19

Noel, Thomas J., *The City and the Saloon: Denver, 1858-1916*, review, 60-61

North Fork of Shoshone River, 45, 49, 51, 53

North Platte River, 3

O

Olsen, Pete W., 15-16, 18-19

Opal, Wyoming, 16

Owens, Patricia Ann, review of *The Rise of Multiple-use Management in the Intermountain West: A History of Region 4 of the Forest Service*, 61

P

Pendleton, George, 25, 29

Phelps, William, 27, 30

Phillips, William T., 13-14

Plumb, Preston, 26-27

Pole Creek Trail, 4

Populism in the Mountain West, by Robert W. Larson, review, 60

Powell, John Wesley, 29

Preuss, Charles, 3

Q

Quealy, Patrick, J., 55

R

Reynolds, John, 23

The Rise of Multiple-use Management in the Intermountain West: A History of Region 4 of the Forest Service, by Thomas G. Alexander, review, 61

Rock River Coal and Fire Clay Company, 55

Rock River, Wyoming, 55

Rose, Robert, 16-17, 19

Ross, Edmund, 24-25, 27-28

Ryan, Thomas, 26

S

Scott, Rube, 18

Sesler, Albert F., 17-18

Sherman, John, 25, 27

Sherrell-Leo, Cindy, *Starting Right: A Basic Guide to Museum Planning*, review, 59

Smalley, Ben H., 12, 18

Smith, Frank, 33

Somsen, Dorothy, 13, 18

Starting Right: A Basic Guide to Museum Planning, by Gerald George and Cindy Sherrell-Leo, review, 59

Stoffers, Louella, 16

Stoner, Abe, 12-15; photo, 13

Stoner, Clarence A., 15, 20; photos, 15, 21

Stoner, John W., 12, 14

Stoner, Roscoe, 12

Sweetwater River, 3, 8

T

Taylor, Tex, 17

Teller, Henry, 27, 29

Townsend, Martin, 23-24

True, Susan Niethammer, *Casper: A Pictorial History*, review, 58-59

U

Uinta Improvement Company, 55

United States Congress, 22-30

V

Vest, George, 27, 29

W

Weaver, James, 29

Whitney, Charlie, 13, 15-20; photos, 15, 21

Whitney, Fred, 15

Whitney, Hugh, 13, 15-20; photo, 15

Whitney, Mary Ella, 15

Wilde, J. Patrick, 18-19

Wilkinson, Morton, 27

Wind River Mountains, 6; photos 2-3, 5-7

Wind River Reservation, 18-19

Winter, Wayne, 45

Wolf, James R., "Frémont in the Wind Rivers," 2-11

Wright, H. E. Jr., 46

Wyman, Henry, 19

Wyoming Coal and Development Company, 55

"Wyoming's Outlaw Brothers," Jim Dullenty and Mary Stoner Hadley, 12-21

Y

Yates, Richard, 27

WYOMING STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

The Wyoming State Historical Society was organized in October, 1953. Membership is open to anyone interested in history. County chapters of the society have been chartered in most of the twenty-three counties of Wyoming. Past presidents of the society include; Frank Bowron, Casper, 1953-55; William L. Marion, Lander, 1955-56; Dr. DeWitt Dominick, Cody, 1956-57; Dr. T. A. Larson, Laramie, 1957-58; A. H. MacDougall, Rawlins, 1958-59; Mrs. Thelma G. Condit, Buffalo, 1959-60; E. A. Littleton, Gillette, 1960-61; Edness Kimball Wilkins, Casper, 1961-62; Charles Ritter, Cheyenne, 1962-63; Neal E. Miller, Rawlins, 1963-65; Mrs. Charles Hord, Casper, 1965-66; Glenn Sweem, Sheridan, 1966-67; Adrian Reynolds, Green River, 1967-68; Curtiss Root, Torrington, 1968-69; Mrs. Hattie Burnstad, Worland, 1969-70; J. Reuel Armstrong, Rawlins, 1970-71; William R. Dubois, Cheyenne, 1971-72; Henry F. Chadey, Rock Springs, 1972-73; Richard S. Dumbrill, Newcastle, 1973-74; Henry Jensen, Casper, 1974-75; Jay Brazelton, Jackson, 1975-76; Ray Pendergraft, Worland, 1976-77; David J. Wasden, Cody, 1977-78; Mabel Brown, Newcastle, 1978-79; James June, Green River, 1979-80; William F. Bragg, Jr., Casper, 1980-81; Don Hodgson, Torrington, 1981-82; Clara Jensen, Lysite-Casper, 1982-83; Fern Gaensslen, Green River, 1983-84; Dave Kathka, Rock Springs, 1984-85; Mary Garman, Sundance, 1985-86; Ellen Mueller, Cheyenne, 1986-87; Mary Nielsen, Cody, 1987-1988.

Membership information may be obtained from the Executive Headquarters, Wyoming State Historical Society, Barrett Building, Cheyenne, Wyoming 82002. Dues in the state society are:

Life Membership	\$100
Joint Life Membership (husband and wife)	\$150
Annual Membership	\$5
Joint Annual Membership (two persons of same family at same address)	\$7
Institutional Membership	\$10

President, Loren Jost, Riverton

First Vice President, Lucille Clarke Dumbrill, Newcastle

1988-89 *Second Vice-President, Danny Smith, Cody*

Officers *Secretary-Treasurer, Gladys Hill, Douglas*

Executive-Secretary, David Kathka

Coordinator, Judy West

